



*H. Grandet, inv. et del.*

*G. Stoten, Sculp.*

**M. CURTIUS,**

*Devoting himself for his Country*

*Published Feb. 23<sup>d</sup> 1740, by J. & P. Knapton.*

THE  
ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE  
FOUNDATION of R O M E

TO THE  
BATTLE of A C T I U M :

. THAT IS,  
To the End of the COMMONWEALTH.

*By Mr ROLLIN, late Principal of the University of  
Paris, Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and  
Fellow of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles  
Lettres.*

Translated from the FRENCH.

V O L. III.

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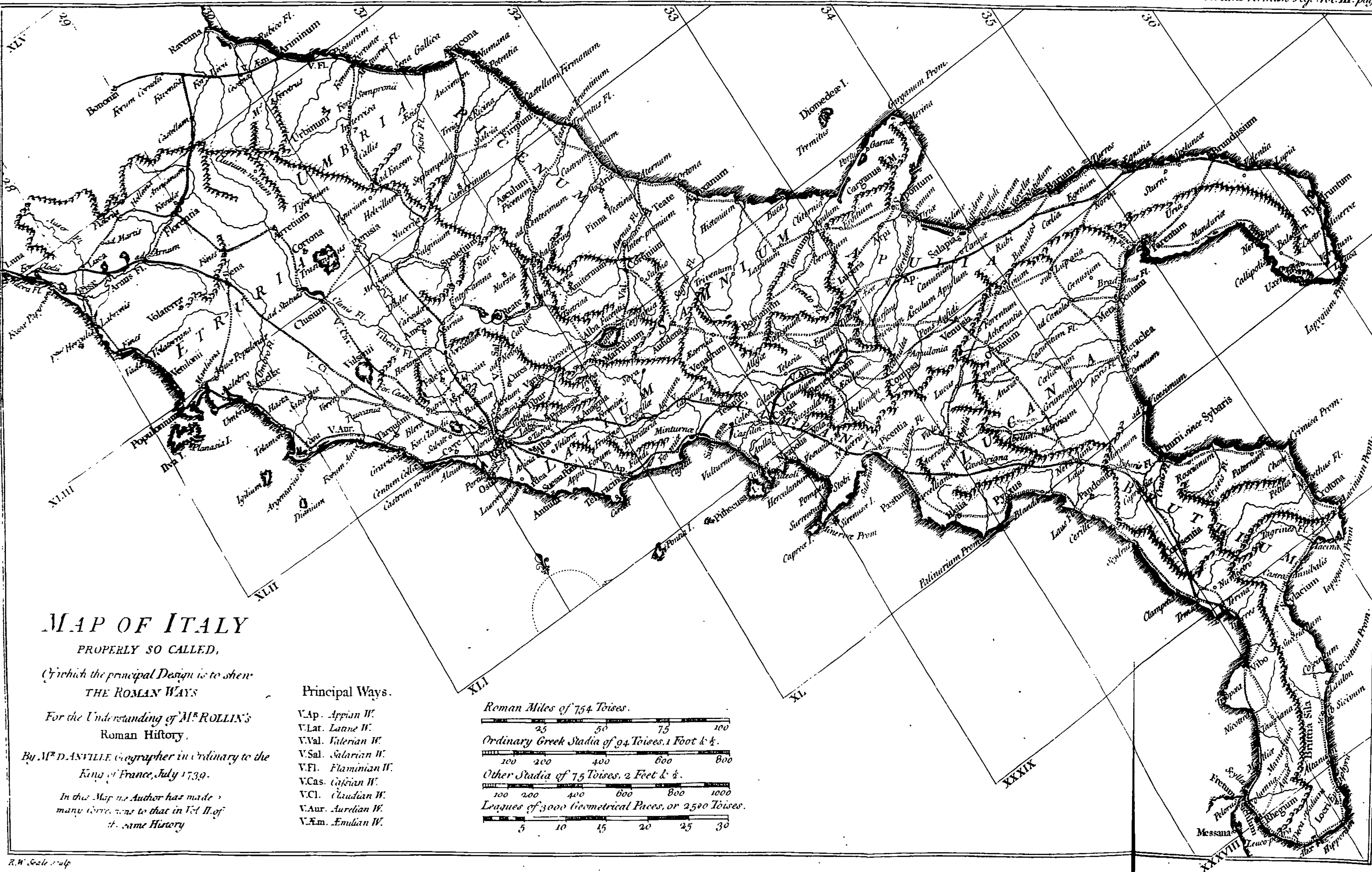
*Embassy of Ptolomy Philadelphus to the Romans. Vestal punished with death. New colonies. Tarentum surrenders to the Romans. War with the Samnites entirely terminated. Return of the Roman ambassadors from Egypt. Censorship of Curius. The conquered enemies are deprived of*

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T H E



# MAP OF ITALY

PROPERLY SO CALLED,

(Which the principal Design is to shew  
THE ROMAN WAYS

For the Understanding of M<sup>r</sup> ROLLIN'S  
Roman History.

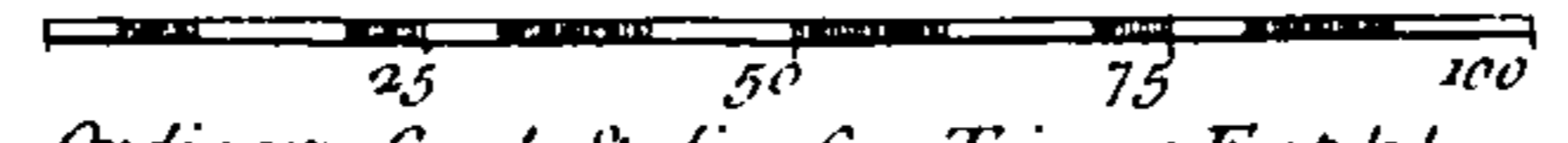
By M<sup>r</sup> D. ANVILLE Geographer in Ordinary to the  
King of France, July 1739.

In this Map the Author has made  
many Corrections to that in Vol II. of  
the same History

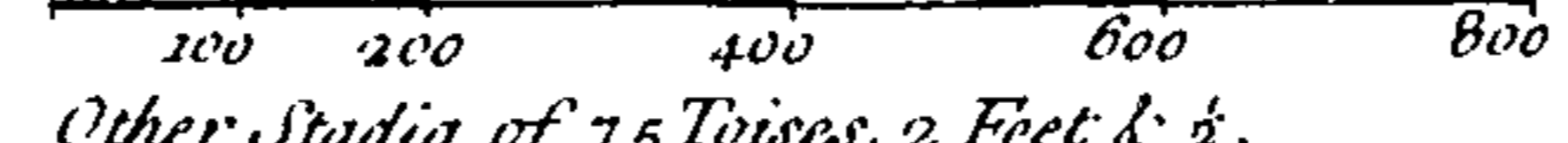
## Principal Ways.

- V. Ap. Appian W.
- V. Lat. Latian W.
- V. Val. Valerian W.
- V. Sal. Salarian W.
- V. Fl. Flaminian W.
- V. Cas. Cassian W.
- V. Cl. Claudian W.
- V. Aur. Aurelian W.
- V. Em. Emilian W.

## Roman Miles of 754 Toises.



## Ordinary Greek Stadia of 94 Toises, 1 Foot & 1/2.



## Other Stadia of 75 Toises, 2 Feet & 1/2.



## Leagues of 3000 Geometrical Paces, or 2500 Toises.



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T H E  
R O M A N H I S T O R Y  
C O N T I N U E D.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N.

**T**HIS introduction includes three articles : the first treats of the Ædileship ; the second, three great public works, which have some relation to that office ; and the third, the cruel treatment of debtors by their creditors at Rome.

A R T I C L E I.

*Brief description of the functions of the Ædiles.*

**T**HE functions of the Ædileship should have been placed at the end of the preceding volume with those of the Prætors : but to avoid swelling that too much, I thought it proper to refer the account of them to the beginning of this.

The Ædiles are so called from the Latin word *ædes*, which signifies *building*, *edifice* : we shall see presently the relation of that name to their functions.

The first Ædiles were instituted the same year with the Tribunes of the People. They were at that time subaltern officers, to execute the orders of the Tribunes, who referred some

A. R. 261.  
Dionys.  
l. 6. p. 417.

affairs of small importance to their care. The public and private buildings were under their direction, from whence they took their name; they presided in the games given to the People; and had also a share in the civil government, that obliged them to provide for the safety and cleanliness of the city, to regulate in respect to provisions, with abundance of other cares, of which it is easy to conceive that the detail must be very extensive. It was also ordained in process of time, that the decrees of the Senate, immediately after they were passed, should be put into their hands, to be deposited in the temple of Ceres, in order that it might not be in the power of the Consuls to make any alteration in them. Two Ædiles were annually chosen in the same assembly with the Tribunes, and always out of the body of the People.

The Plebeians continued in the sole possession of the Ædileship during the space of an hundred and twenty seven years to the year of Rome 388. The Senate at that time, who had just reconciled themselves to the People, by granting that one of their order should be Consul, thought it incumbent on them to express their gratitude to the Gods for so considerable an event, which they ascribed to their peculiar favour and protection: Accordingly they decreed that *the Great Games* should be celebrated, and that to the three days of the festival called *Feriæ Latinae*, on which those games were always solemnized, a fourth should be added. The Ædiles having refused on this occasion to celebrate the Great Games, on account of the expence with which they were attended, the young Patricians offered with joy to take it upon themselves, upon condition that the honours of the Ædileship should be granted them. Their offer was accepted



accepted with great marks of approbation and gratitude, and the Senate passed a decree for the election of two *Ædiles* annually out of the order of the Patricians. From thenceforth there were two kinds of *Ædiles* at Rome. The one were called *Plebeian Ædiles*, the other *Curule Ædiles*, because they had the right of having the Curule chair adorned with ivory, which was placed in the chariot wherein they were carried: a distinction annexed to the great offices of the commonwealth.

Julius Cæsar added two *Ædiles* to their number, to have the inspection of corn, who for that reason were called *Cereales*. But these, besides their being established late, are less known in history: wherefore we shall speak only of the *Plebeian* and *Curule Ædiles*.

It is not easy to describe exactly the different functions of these two kinds of *Ædiles*. (a) Cicero, in the last of his orations against Verres, mentions those of the *Curule Ædiles*, which were the principal; and reduces them to presiding in the games celebrated in honour of different Divinities, to the care of the sacred edifices, and the civil government in general of Rome. He afterwards repeats the distinctions of honour granted to the *Ædiles*, such as the

<p>(a) Nunc sum designatus <i>Ædilis</i>: habeo rationem quid à populo Romano acceperim. Mihi ludos sanctissimos maxima cum cæremonia Cereri, Libero, Liberæque faciundos: mihi Floram matrem populo Plebique Romano ludorum celebritate placandam: mihi ludos antiquissimos, qui primi Romani sunt nominati, maxima cum dignitate ac religione Jovi, Junoni, Miner-</p>	<p>væque esse faciundos: mihi sacrarum ædium procurationem: mihi totam urbem tuendam esse commissam. Ob earum rerum laborem &amp; sollicitudinem, fructus illos datos, antiquiorem in Senatu sententiæ dicendi locum, togam prætextam, sellam curulem, jus imaginis ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendæ. <i>Verr. 7. 38.</i></p>
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right of giving their opinion in the Senate, not according to the date of their admittance into that body, but a more honourable rank ; the robe called *toga prætexta*, the Curule chair, and the right of having \* images, so proper to render families illustrious to posterity : all privileges annexed to the great offices of the state. It is probable that the Patricians had taken into their Ædileship only what was most important for the Public Good, and most honourable for themselves ; and the three heads mentioned in the passage of Cicero, the celebration of games, the public and sacred buildings, and the civil government in general of the city, seem sufficiently of this kind. Of all these functions, I shall consider those principally, which regard the celebration of games, because that subject recurs most frequently in history ; and I shall touch but slightly upon it, because it would carry me a great way, if I undertook to treat it in all its extent.

The public games, as well amongst the Romans as the Greeks, were ceremonies of religion, celebrated in honour of the Gods, either to implore their aid in public dangers and misfortunes, or to thank them for the protection received in them (*a*) : for this reason they were preceded, accompanied, and followed, with abundance of sacrifices.

The principal of these games were those of the Circus, *Circenses* ; called also *the Great games*, *the Roman games*, *ludi Magni*, *ludi Romani* ; and those of the theatre, *ludi Scenici*.

\* *The Romans, whose fathers or ancestors had borne Curule offices, set up their images in their halls ; and they were carried in pomp at their* funerals.  
 (a) in ludis quanta sacra, quanta sacrificia præcedunt, intercedunt, succedunt ! *Ter.* tail. de spect. c. 7.

The first are almost as ancient as Rome itself, and were established by Romulus in honour of *Consus* god of counsels, whom some believe to have been the same as Neptune ; they were called also *Consualia*. The Sabine virgins were carried off in these games. Liv 1. 9.

*Nec procul hinc Romam, & raptas sine more* Virg. Æn.  
1. 8. 635.  
*Sabinas*  
*Confessu caveæ, magnis Circensibus actis*  
*Addiderat.*

Virgil calls them games of the Circus by anticipation, which were not then in being.

Tarquin the elder built the Circus in the valley Marcia, between the Palatine and Aventine hills. He made seats in it for the spectators, on which they sat under the shelter of a roof. Before that time they were placed in a kind of wretched Amphitheatres, built of boards and poles. In process of time this edifice became the most magnificent and surprizing work in Rome. It was two thousand one hundred and eighty four feet in length, and nine hundred and sixty in breadth. According to some Authors, it was capable of containing an hundred and fifty thousand spectators, and according to others, two hundred and sixty or three hundred thousand. It was called the great Circus, *Circus maximus*. Liv. l. 35.  
Dionys. iii.  
200.

The Circus served for horse and chariot races, for the *Gymnic* games or those of the *Athletæ*, and for combats on foot or on horse-back. The chariots in this kind of races were extremely small and low. Some were drawn by two horses, and were called *Bigæ* : others by four in front, *Quadrigæ* ; and sometimes also, though very seldom, by six in front, *Sejuges*. Under

the emperors, those who drove the chariots, were divided into factions according to the colour of their habits. At first there were only two: the white, *Alba*; and the red, *Rubra* or *Ruffea*. Then two others were added to them: the green, *Prasina*; and the blue, *Veneta*. These factions of the Circus divided the People, some being for one colour, and others for another: and as there requires very little for putting the populace into a ferment, these disputes often grew so hot, as to occasion seditions, in which much blood was shed.

Anc. Hist.  
Vol. 5. I shall not enter here into a particular account of these races and combats, having treated them with sufficient extent elsewhere; and shall only observe, that the Roman People took exceeding pleasure in the games, and that they made Rome infinitely agreeable to them. I speak of the poor themselves, who were contented, and even thought themselves happy, provided they had but bread and shews.

Juvenal.

— — *Duas tantum res anxius optat,  
Panem & Circenses.*

We ought not to wonder, that a warlike People, who breathed nothing but arms, had so great a taste for shews, which were a lively image of war, and represented combats and victories, even in the midst of peace. But to these innocent combats cruel and inhuman ones were added in process of time, which dishonoured a nation so estimable in other respects. And indeed, how shall we pardon the Romans, or reconcile with that humanity and goodness of disposition upon which they valued themselves, especially in the latter times of the Commonwealth, and under the Emperors, the barba-  
rous

rous and inhuman pleasure they took in seeing human blood shed, in making men fight with wild beasts, in causing young virgins solely for refusing to abjure JESUS CHRIST to be torn in pieces by bears and lions, and to feed their eyes, for whole days together, with sights that give horror to nature, whilst not even the softer sex, who are naturally tender and compassionate, seem moved in the least with them!

The *Scenic* games, that is to say the representations of the Theatre, exhibited more merciful and humane sights to the People, but not less pernicious to their manners. These games did not seem to suit a warlike People like the Romans: nor were they used amongst them till almost four hundred years from the foundation of Rome. A motive (*a*) of religion made way for them; to appease the wrath of the gods, and to make a plague cease, which raged exceedingly in the city. We see here how high the absurdity of the Roman superstition rose. They imagined the wrath of the gods was to be appeased in plagues, famines, defeats of armies, and other misfortunes of the public, by celebrating games which consisted of dances, gross songs, and buffoonry. The generals of their armies, the Senate, believed they did a very meritorious act of virtue in vowing such games for the attainment of victory. What blindness, what absurdity was this!

The beginnings of these games were at first rustic and imperfect. They were only gross farces, without connection, plan, or unity of design. More than an hundred years after, the Poet Livius Andronicus gave these representa-

Liv. l. 7.

c. 2.

A. R. 391.

A. R. 512.

(*a*) *Victis superstitione animis, ludi quoque scenici, inter alia cœlestis iræ placamina instituti dicuntur. Liv. nova res bellicoso populo—*

tions a more regular form, in dividing a subject, an action, into acts and scenes, according to the rules of art. The poet was himself an actor, and united music and dancing with his performance. These pieces attained their perfection by degrees, and assumed an entirely new face from the various changes introduced in the representation of them. The (*a*) theatres, as was natural, answered at first the grossness of the scenes played in them: but in process of time they were carried to a magnificence not easily conceivable, as we shall soon see.

But I make haste to return to the *Ædiles*, whose functions I could not explain without first giving the reader some slight idea of the games of the Circus and Theatre.

To begin by the games of the Circus, it is necessary to observe, that some were ordinary and regular, and others extraordinary, which were celebrated upon different causes and occasions that arose. Amongst the latter, those called *votive*, *Ludi votivi*, most frequently occur in history. In public calamities, as contagious diseases, the loss of battles, &c. solemn games were celebrated, to appease the wrath of the gods, to which those calamities were ascribed. The generals often on taking the field, and sometimes in the very heat of battle, made vows to celebrate games in honour of the gods, if they granted them the victory: for they were entirely convinced that the Divinity disposed all events. When the Roman People had decreed, that war should be made against Antiochus king of Syria, the Consul Acilius, to whom that Pro-

Liv. l. 36.  
c. 2.

Ab initio aliarum parva ab sano initio res in hanc vix  
principum rerum ludorum opulentis regibus tolerabilem  
que de principum imperio infamiam venerit. Liv. l. 7.  
this can be ascertained, quam c. 2.

vince

vince had fallen by lot, by order of the Senate made the following vow, of which the words were dictated to him by the great Pontiff. *If the war, which the Roman People have decreed against Antiochus, has success, and is terminated according to the desires of the Senate and People of Rome; the Roman People, great Jupiter, will cause the great games to be celebrated during ten days together, and make offerings to all the great gods: and such sums as shall be fixed by the Senate, shall be employed in those ceremonies.*

In these extraordinary votive games, the public bore the expence; and the sum employed in them was sometimes regulated upon the number *three*, which was highly revered, and considered as religious and sacred amongst the ancients. After the defeat of Flaminius by Hannibal at the lake of Trasymenus, the Romans, to appease the wrath of the gods (a), made a vow to celebrate the great games, and to employ in them the sum of \* three hundred and thirty three thousand three hundred and thirty three *Asses*, and one third. The generals obliged the enemy whom they had conquered, and often even the allies of the Roman People, to contribute to the expence of those games. M. Fulvius had taken almost three thousand pounds of several states for this use, *centum decem pondo auri*. The Senate, who conceived that sum too considerable, consulted the Pontiffs to know, whether it were necessary to employ the whole in that use. They answered in the negative: and in consequence Fulvius was permitted to take what he pleased of it, provided it did not

(a) Ejusdem rei causa ludi Liv. l. 20. c. 10.

magis voti, æris trecentis \* This sum amounts so about  
triginta millibus, trecentis eight hundred and fifty eight  
triginta tribus, & triente. pounds.

exceed

Liv. l. 40.  
c. 44.  
A. R. 53.

exceed fourscore thousand *asses*, about two hundred pounds. Some years after the Senate limited Q. Fulvius to the same sum out of the money he had raised from the Spaniards. What occasioned this last (*a*) limitation, was the excessive expences of the games exhibited by Tib. Sempronius the *Ædile*, which had been oppressive not only to Italy and the Latine allies, but even to the Provinces abroad.

We do not find what share the *Ædiles* had in these votive games, unless probably that they took care, as civil magistrates, that good order was preserved in them. It was not the same in respect to the games attached to their office, that is to say the games of Ceres, of Flora, and the great or Roman games. Those games were celebrated at the expence of the *Ædiles* : as were the Plebeian games by the Plebeian *Ædiles*.

As the games were always preceded by a solemn procession, wherein the images and statues of the Gods were carried in pomp, and the Pontiffs, Priests, Augurs, and all the officers of religion and the worship of the gods, walked in their robes of ceremony: the *Ædiles* were ordered to adorn the streets and places, through which the procession was to pass, with all possible magnificence, tapestry, rich stuffs, paintings, and statues. In order to this, they in a manner laid all their friends, and even the Provinces where they had any credit, under contribution. The *Ædiles* also found chariots, horses, drivers, gladiators, and the rewards given to the victors. One of their greatest cares was to

(*a*) *Decreverat id senatus, Italiae ac sociis Latini nominis, sed etiam provinciis extortos in ludo Tib. Sempronii Ædilis, qui graves non modo*

collect as many uncommon and curious beasts as they could, as lions, tygers, panthers, fights very agreeable to the people. Sylla ascribed his being rejected the first time he stood for the Pætorship to the design which the People had to oblige him to accept the office of Ædile, because his friendship with Bacchus gave them reason to hope fine games, wherein they should see wild beasts in great numbers, which would be sent him from Africa. We may see in the letters of Cœlius how warmly he pressed Cicero, who was then in his government of Cilicia, to do his utmost to procure him panthers. All these occasions, and abundance of others which I omit, were necessarily attended with great expences.

Plut. in Syll. p. 453.  
Fere literis omnibus tibi de pantheris scripsi. Epist. fam. 8.

As much may be said of the *Scenic Games*. There was no Theatre at Rome : a new one was therefore to be built every year ; and, the number of people considered, to what an expence must such a work amount ? It was necessary to embellish and adorn it with whatever was most curious and magnificent. The Ædiles paid the actors as well as the music : For nothing was taken from the spectators. They also paid the poet for the piece to be represented. Suetonius tells us, that Terence had for his comedy called *the Eunuch* eight thousand pieces of money, *octo millia nummum* (or *sestertium* which is the same thing) that is to say, about fifty pounds, which in those times was a very considerable sum.

Suet. in vit. Teren.

Whoever aspired at honours, could not avoid those expences. The Ædileship was the first Curule dignity held at Rome : the age for entering into that office was thirty seven. Two years after came the Prætorship : and after the like interval of two years, the office of Consul. Nor  
the

Offic. 2.  
53.

the manner in which a person had acted whilst *Ædile*, and exhibited games, contributed extremely either to gain or alienate the people in respect to the dignities that were to ensue. *Mamercus*, a very rich and powerful man, demanding the Consulship, experienced a shameful repulse, because he had avoided passing through the office of *Ædile*, to spare himself the expences which necessarily attended that charge. The People, as I have already observed, were infinitely delighted both with the shews of the Circus, and those of the Theatre, and passed whole days at them without being tired. Terence's *Eunuch* was played twice the same day, morning and afternoon ; and it was at the earnest demand of the People, that dramatic pieces were acted over again in that manner. That People would be obeyed, and were so. The *Hecyra* (*a*) another of the same poet's comedies, had a quite different fate, and was twice interrupted, because the People were for seeing the rope-dancers, or some such sight. They (*b*) preferred those of the Circus to those of the Theatre, and chose much rather to see extraordinary beasts, as tygers, panthers, or a white elephant, than to hear the best actors declaim. This is what makes Horace say agreeably, that

(*a*) Novum intervenit vitium & calamitas.  
Ut neque spectari, neque cognosci potuerit :  
Ita populus studio stupidus in funambulo.  
Animum occuparat. *In Prologo.*

(*b*) ———Media inter carmina poscunt  
Aut ursum, aut pugiles : his nam plebecula gaudet.—  
Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus, seu  
Diversum confusa genus panthera camelo,  
Sive elephas albus vulgi converteret ora :  
Spectaret populum ludis attentius ipsi  
Ut sibi præbentem mimo spectacula plura.

*Horat. Ep. ad August.*

if

if Democritus had been present at these games, neither panthers nor elephants would have been a shew to him, but the People, who would have seemed to him more strange and brutal than the beasts themselves.

Cicero was not so rigid. It (*a*) is not wonderful, says he, that the multitude are so sensible to the magnificence of games, as we ourselves, who have not a moment's leisure from affairs, and who besides can find in the midst of our occupations abundance of other methods to divert ourselves, receive pleasure in the shews of the Circus, and the representations of the Theatre. Cicero pleaded against the orator Servius Sulpicius, who saw with indignation, that Muræna had carried the suffrages and favour of the People against him by the magnificence of the games, which he had represented as \* Prætor, and in consequence been created Consul in preference to him. "Do you (*b*) believe, said he, that the very scene adorned with decorations of silver, which you would ridicule, has given him no advantage over you; and especially as you yourself never was in the case of giving games to the People?" Cicero, in what he says here of his particular taste for shews, speaks as an orator, who has occasion to magnify the pleasure of those games for the good of his cause; but that he thought quite diffe-

(*a*) Si nosmetipsi, quæ & ab delectatione omni negotiis impedimur, & in ipsa occupatione delectationes multas habere possumus, ludis tamen oblectamur & ducimur; quid tu admirare de multitudine indocta? *Pro Mur. n. 39.*

\* *The Prætors were also obliged to give certain games. Those mentioned here were the Ludi Apollinarii.*

(*b*) Tibi qui casu nullos [ludos] feceras, nihil hujus istam ipsam, quam irrides, argentream scenam adversatam putas? *Ib. n. 40.*

rently

rently at bottom, is evident (*a*) from a very fine letter, which he writes to one of his friends, wherein he congratulates him upon his not being present at the shews, given by Pompey to the People at the dedication of his theatre, whether he was prevented by sickness, or neglected that out of choice and judgment, which others irrationally admire and pursue. For the rest, says he, the games were very fine, but not at all to your taste ; for I judge of yours by my own.— And indeed, what pleasure can a serious and reasonable person take in seeing either a weak man torn in pieces by a very strong beast, or a very fine beast pierced through with a javelin ?

To procure the People games and shews so agreeable to them, was then a powerful means to please them and acquire their favour. The wisest and best inclined citizens were obliged to have regard to their humour, which was excessive in this point : (*b*) but they acted however with reserve and moderation, equally avoiding the two opposite extremes, of sordid avarice and pompous profusion ; and regulating their expences by their revenues. It was thus Cicero

(*a*) Si te dolor aliquis corporis, aut infirmitas valetudinis tuæ tenuit, quo minus ad ludos venires : fortunæ magis tribuo, quam sapientiæ tuæ. Sin hæc quæ ceteri mirantur, contemenda duxisti, & cum per valetudinem posses venire tamen noluisti : utramque lætor, & sine dolore corporis te fuisse, & animo valuisse, cum ea quæ sine causa mirantur alii, neglexeris.—Omnino, si quæris, laudatissimum apparatissimum, sed

non tui stomachi : conjecturam enim facio de meo— (Quæ potest esse homini politico delectatio, cum aut homo imbecillus à valentissima bestia laceratur, aut præclara bestia venabulo tranverberatur ? *Lia.* 7. *Ep.* 1.

(*b*) In his mediocritatis regula optima est.—Si postulatur a populo,—faciendum est, modo pro facultatibus, nos ipsi ut fecimus. *Offic.* 2. 58, 59.

behaved

(b) behaved in his Ædileship. He informs us himself, that his charges in that office amounted only to a very moderate sum, and that the dignities of Prætor and Consul were conferred upon him by the People with marks of distinction highly in his favour. Julius Agricola acted with the same prudence in the games which his charge of Prætor obliged him to give the public. (c) He observed, in that frivolous ceremony, a wise medium between an austerity of reason, that prohibits every thing, and a false magnificence, that knows no bounds ; avoiding a pompous luxury, and employing a noble œconomy in the expence of those games, capable of doing him honour. Cicero had known how to deserve the esteem and favour of his country by more solid and essential qualities, upon which the People, light as they seem, shew on occasion, that they really set more value, than upon the most superb and magnificent games, which affect them only for moments, and which they forget almost as soon as those shews disappear.

Little minds, whose whole merit consists in their riches, make their glory consist in the vain display of them, and in dazzling the vulgar eye with them. This, in the latter times of the commonwealth, made the magnificence of these games amount to the enormous and incredible expences, which gave Livy reason to say, that the revenues of the most opulent princes would hardly suffice to support them.

(b) Nobis quoque licet in hoc quodammodo gloriari. Nam pro amplitudine honorum, quos cunctis suffragiis adepti sumus nostro quidem anno—sanè exiguus sump-

tus ædilitatis fuit. *Ibid.*

(c) Ludos & inania honoris modo rationis atque abundantie duxit, uti longè à luxuria, ita famæ propior *Tacit. in Agric. c. 6.*

The

The Ædileship of M. Scaurus, which may be dated the 694th year of Rome, gives us a memorable example of this kind. (a) The building which he erected, according to Pliny, was the greatest work that had ever been made by the hands of man; and as solid as if it had been to have subsisted for ever, though its duration at the utmost was not to exceed one month. It was a Theatre. The scene or stage had three rows of pillars, to the number in all of three hundred and sixty. The back part of it was marble, and the middle glass or crystal; a luxury unheard of before or since. The pillars of the lower order were thirty-eight feet high. Three thousand statues of brass were placed amongst the columns. The pit and amphitheatre were capable of containing fourscore thousand men. The rich stuffs, tapestries, paintings, and in a word the whole materials and ornaments, amounted to so enormous a sum, that what remained of them, after Scaurus had employed a great part of them in embellishing his house in the city, having been carried to his country-house at Tusculum, and entirely destroyed by a fire, the loss was computed at about six hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling: *HS millies*, that is to say, *sestertium millies centena millia*. When the shews were over, Scaurus caused all those pillars to be carried to his house. The undertaker who kept the sewers in repair, obliged that Ædile to give security for making good the damages which might be occasioned by the carriage of such heavy columns over the arches, that from the time of

(a) Hic fecit in Ædileate manu facta, non temporaria sua opus maximum omnium, morâ, verum etiam æternique unquam fuisse humanae destinatione. *Plin.*

Tarquinius Priscus, that is to say, almost five hundred years, had continued firm without alteration, and sustained also the shock of such vast loads without giving way.

Pliny cries out with reason, that the *Ædile-Plin. l. 36.* ship of Scaurus finally ruined and subverted the *c. 15.* manners of the public: *Cujus nescio an Ædilitas maxime prostraverit mores civiles.* Could one be- *Ibid. c. 3.* lieve that luxury was capable of making so rapid a progress in so short a time! The carrying of six marble pillars of only twelve feet high had been made a crime in L. Crassus, which were the first that had been seen at Rome: and thirty years after, or thereabouts, the magistrates saw three hundred and sixty of extraordinary height carried into that of Scaurus. (a) They both saw, and suffered it; and that, says Pliny, before the eyes of great Jupiter, and the rest of the Gods, whose statues were only composed of earth and clay. But the magistrates knew their impotence; they owned that luxury was stronger than the laws; and chose rather not to make regulations, than to see them violated with boldness and impunity.

Tiberius, on an occasion not unlike that just mentioned, made use of a maxim sometimes necessary in politics. Upon the complaints of the *Ædiles* in respect to the insupportable excess of luxury, the Senate, who had been consulted, referred the affair to the wisdom of the Emperor. (b) Tiberius, after having long considered upon

(a) Tacuere tantas moles in privatam domum trahi præter fœdus deorum falligia. [Pictilem effigiem Jovis. *Lib. 35. c. 12*] Nimirum ista omnia moribus victis: frustra interdita quæ ve-

nerant cernentes, nullas potius, quam initas, esse leges maluerunt. *Plin. 36. 3.*

(b) Tiberius, sepe apud se pensitavit, an coerceri tam effusæ cupidines possent: num coercitio plus damni in remp. fecisset.

upon means for reforming the disorder ; whether the remedy were not worse than the disease ; and how great a disgrace it would be to him to undertake what he could not effect, or being reduced to execution, would be fatal to the most illustrious families : insinuated to the Senate, in a very fine and long reply which he made to them, that in the present state of things, it were perhaps more prudent not to attack disorders, that through long impunity had gained the upper hand, than to attempt a reformation, which would only serve to evidence weakness and want of power in the reformers.

*Offic. l. 2. c. 56.* Cicero, in the second book of his Offices, reaches us the judgment we ought to form of the magnificent works and enormous expences, that had no other end but to divert the People, with which I shall conclude this brief discourse upon the functions of the *Ædiles*. As he had a regard for Pompey's memory, he would not condemn in his own person the great works by which that illustrious friend had endeavoured to perpetuate his name ; but he does it in a manner less express by the mouths of others. (a) As to the expences, says he, employed on theatres, porticoes, and even new temples, my regard for Pompey makes me more reserved in blaming them : but I know persons of the greatest capacities, who do not approve them. Pompey, on his return from the war with Mithridates, had

ferret ; quam indecorum at-  
trectare quod non obtinere-  
tur, vel retentum ignominiam  
& infamiam virorum illustri-  
um posceret : postremò liti-  
ras ad Senatum composuit.  
*Tacit. Annal. l. 3. c. 52.*

Nescio an suaderis fuerim  
omittere potius prævalida &

adulta vitia, quam hoc adse-  
qui, ut palam fieret quibus  
flagitiis impares essemus *Ibid.*  
c. 53.

(a) Theatra, porticus, no-  
va templa verecundiùs repre-  
hendo propter Pompeium :  
sed doctissimi non probant

cause.

caused a superb theatre to be erected, which, according to Pliny, was capable of containing forty thousand spectators. It was to be always permanent, whereas theatres before, even those which had cost the most, were only for a very short time. At the sight of so great, and in appearance so necessary a work, would not one expect Cicero to expatiate in praises and admiration? We have seen in what manner he expresses his sense of it.

He had before introduced two famous philosophers, who were divided in opinion upon this head. I cannot sufficiently wonder, says Cicero, that Theophrastus, in a book which he has composed upon riches, and in which he says abundance of good things, was capable of falling into so gross an absurdity, as to praise the pomp and magnificence of Shews given to the People; and to make the advantage of wealth consist in the power of lavishing money in such expences.

How much more wisdom and truth are there in the reproaches which \* Aristotle makes us, for not being terrified to see such profusions committed for the diversion of the People. When we are told, says that philosopher, that a cup of water was sold in a besieged city for fifty shillings, (*minam*) every body is struck with it, and excuse the price only on account of the necessity that occasions it. Whence then is it that such prodigious expences, which relieve no kind of necessity, and conduce in nothing to exalt the consideration and dignity of the persons who are at them, should be thought so little

\* It is believed that there is an error in this name, because there is no such passage in the works of Aristotle, as Cicero repeats here.

strange? The very (*a*) pleasure they give the People, is only for a few moments, delight only the lightest and most contemptible amongst them, and is even forgotten by those almost as soon as enjoyed.

To these frivolous, and at the same time enormous expences, Cicero substitutes others, which are attended with less cost, and do more honour: the building of walls to the city, harbours and ports, aqueducts, [the making of high-ways] and all other things of use to the commonwealth. Even such as presents from hand to hand, give a more lively and sensible pleasure: but that which results from these other works, is far more solid and durable.

Liv. Epit.

48.

Vell. l. 15.

App. Civ.

l. 1. p. 367.

Cicero speaks here like a true Roman, and a Roman of the best ages. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica thought in the same manner an hundred and twenty years before him. The Censors had before ordered the undertakers to build a fixed and permanent theatre of hewn stone. I have already observed that it was the custom before to erect one according to occasion. The Censors represented, that it appeared far more rational and more consistent with the dignity of the commonwealth, to build a perpetual theatre: and that to judge rightly, such an expence could not but be deemed just and necessary, and when made once for all, would spare the Ædiles and Magistrates the almost inevitable necessity of ruining themselves every year, or at least of considerably impairing their fortunes: besides which, in consequence of such a structure, the spectators would be better accommodated.

(*a*) Cum ipsa illa delectatio multitudinis sit ad breve exiguumque tempus, eaque à levissimo quoque: in quo ta-

men ipso una cum satietate memoria quoque moriatur voluptatis.

These

These reasons, it must be owned, appeared very plausible. Scipio Nasica however, then great Pontiff, a person of extraordinary merit, and wisdom universally acknowledged, strongly opposed this undertaking as an innovation repugnant to ancient customs, and pernicious to good manners, that might be attended with very fatal consequences. He exhorted the Senators not to suffer the luxury and voluptuousness of the Greeks to enervate and corrupt the manly courage of the Romans, and not in some measure to invite the People, already too much inclined of themselves to the pleasure of shews, to abandon themselves to them without measure, and to pass whole days at them with the more pleasure, as from thenceforth they would find the place entirely commodious for that purpose.

The Senate, moved with these remonstrances, shewed a wise and determinate (*a*) severity upon this occasion, which Paternus considers as a most shining proof of the zeal of that body for the public good. They decreed that a stop should be put to the work, which was already much advanced; that what was built of it should be demolished; and that the materials should be sold. They also prohibited the erecting, either in the city or within a thousand paces of it, any theatre with seats in it to sit down upon, and ordained that the People should stand at the shews, in order (*b*) that so incommodious an attitude and posture might shew, that the Romans carried with them, even to their diversions, a

(*a*) Cui in demolendo, eximia civitatis severitas & Consul Scipio restiterunt. Quod inter clarissima publicæ voluntatis argumenta numeraverim. *Vell. Patern.*

*l. 1 c. 15.*

(*b*) Ut scilicet remissioni animorum juncta standi virilitas, propria Romanæ gentis nota esset. *Val. Max. l. 2. c. 4.*

manly vigour and patience, capable of sustaining the rudest fatigues ; and without doubt to remove the temptation and desire of prolonging the duration of the shews.

Pompey was not so delicate. Tertullian, in his book upon Shews, tells us, that Pompey was afraid to mention the word Theatre in his edict to invite the People to the dedication of that work, but called it the temple of Venus, to which, said he, we have added stairs and seats for the convenience of those who shall be present at the shews. *(a)* And Tacitus also informs us, that the ancient and wisest persons of the commonwealth were very much offended at him for having built a perpetual theatre ; whereas before it was expected that one was always to be prepared, when the celebration of games made it necessary. Besides which, on tracing the thing farther back, it was found, that the People had always stood at the shews ; and to provide seats for them, was judged to be in a manner exhorting them to pass whole days in idleness and indolence at the theatre.

## A R T I C L E II.

**A**MONGST the monuments of the Roman magnificence, the three most admired, were the great Ways, or roads, of the empire, the Aqueducts, and the Drains, or Common Sewers : we have seen that these had some relation to the office of *Ædile*. I shall treat them

*a)* Erant qui Cn. quoque Pompeium inculatum à senatibus ferrent, quod munusculum theatri sedem possiderent, cum antea subitaneis gradibus, & scena in tempus structa,

indolos edi solitos ; vel, si vestigia repetas, stantem populum spectasse. Si consideret, theatro dies totos ignavia continuaret. *Tacit. Annal. l. 14 c. 20.*

succinctly,

succinctly, to give the reader some slight idea of them, and not to bury entirely in silence a subject more capable than any other of making known the greatness of the Roman People. The learned Benedictine Father Montfaucon will in a great measure be my guide upon this head.

## S E C T. I.

### *Of the Roman ways.*

**T**HE first of all the Romans, who rendered himself famous by making a public way, was the Cenfor Appius Claudius, whose history we shall soon see. This way was called from him *The Appian Way*. It reached from the gate of Rome called *Porta Capena* to the city of Capua: the territory of the Romans extended no farther in those days. It was afterwards continued, either by Julius or Augustus Cæsar, as far as the city of Brundisium. Its length in its whole extent, was about three hundred and fifty miles, that is to say, an hundred and fifty of our leagues. It was the most ancient and finest of all the Roman Ways; and in consequence was called the Queen of them:

—————*Qua limine noto*

*Appia longarum teritur Regina viarum.*

Stat. Sylv. 1, 12.

The center of all those great ways was the Divus Milliare stone, called *Milliarium aureum*, planted in the midst of Rome. From thence the ways were divided into a great number of branches, which extended into all the parts of the Roman empire.

Plin. in  
vit. Gracch.  
P. 37.

C. Gracchus applied himself with particular care to reinstate and repair the great ways. He divided them into equal spaces called *miles*, because they contained a thousand geometrical paces. (The mile wants very little of eight \* *stadia*.) To mark those miles, he caused great pillars or columns of stone to be planted, on which the number of miles was inscribed. From thence came that mode of speech so frequent in authors, *tertio, quarto, quinto, lapide ab urbe*. These miles are to this day of great use in geography, for knowing the true distance of the places mentioned in ancient authors. They were also very (a) commodious for travellers, who are much pleased with knowing exactly the way they have come, and how far they have still to go, which is a kind of rest and refreshment to them.

Gracchus added one thing which was still a greater convenience. He caused fine stones to be planted at less distances on each side of the ways, to assist travellers in mounting on horseback without help: for the ancients did not use stirrups.

The long duration of these works, of which part subsist to this day, shews with what care and skill they were made, which has been imitated by no nation since. Though the Appian way is about two thousand years old, it is still whole for several miles together near Fondi, not to mention many other places where there are

\* Twenty of them make the common Greek league of 1200 paces.

(a) Facilius per multam distantiam fatigantis pedibus, quam per multam & exhausti laboris noce-

mentiam, vol. pati est; & hoc totum ad reliqua totius expeditionis, scire quantum superest. Nil enim longum videtur, necesse est, in quo quid utinam sit certum est. *Quint. l. 4. c. 5.*

great remains of it. But the stones on the top being either loose or out of their places, those roads are avoided, as extremely inconvenient to chaises, or other wheel-carriages.

In other parts there are long spaces, where the top of the pavement has preserved itself very well, and is as smooth as glass. The stones of this pavement are of the colour of iron, and harder than marble. They are so well joined together, that in many places the point of a knife cannot be introduced between them. The surface, as we have said, is as smooth as glass, which in rainy weather makes horses slide; and at all times in the cleanest and smoothest parts of them, there is no going fast. The stones on the top are about a foot thick: and the ways are something higher than the land on the side of them. In some places mountains, and even great rocks, are cut through for continuing them. This is principally to be seen at Terracina, where the rock is cut away almost to the depth of an hundred and twenty feet. The rock is levelled at bottom, and serves for the way, but rough hewn and furrowed, that horses may have firm footing upon it.

This wonderful solidity of the Appian and other ways, proceeds not only from the thickness and hardness of the stones well united, but also the deep bed that supports them. I observed, says F. Montfaucon, part of the Appian way, from which the stones at top had been removed, which gave me the opportunity of considering the structure of that bed. The bottom of it consists of splinters of stone worked together with a very strong cement, which cannot be broke without great difficulty. Upon this there is a layer of gravel cemented in the same manner, and mingled with small round stones.

stones. The great stones that form the surface, were easily laid in this layer of gravel whilst soft: there being depth enough in it to receive stones of unequal thickness. The whole bed with the pavement at top, may be about three feet from top to bottom.

There were places where these great roads had foot-ways. Their breadth was about two feet, and their depth one and a half or thereabouts. The usual breadth of the horse-ways is something less than fourteen feet: which is not exactly what is necessary for two waggons. This breadth in my opinion ill suits the beauty of the rest of the work.

We have said that the Romans made highways through mountains. We have a lasting example of that in the grotto of Pozzuolo, where the steep mountain between that city and Naples is cut through from side to side for the sake of the passage. At the two extremities the opening is very high, but the way is afterwards with a descent, in order that it may have light as far as possible. And as this did not hinder the road from being extremely dark soon after the entrance, openings have been cut about the middle through the mountain to let in the light. Notwithstanding all these precautions, it is still so very dark in the middle, that the wheel-carriages, which pass from the opposite sides, would be in danger of running against one another, if the drivers did not call out to each other to keep either on the side next the sea, or on that next the mountain.

The care of the Romans to make the great roads commodious throughout the whole extent of their empire, has done that people infinite honour, and ought to give us a very high idea of the wisdom of a government, whose views  
were

were so great and noble, and solely directed to the good of the public. This is a fine model for those who hold the reins of government.

S E C T. II.

*Of Aqueducts.*

**A**N Aqueduct is a work of stone, made in uneven ground to preserve the level of the water, and to carry it as a canal from one place to another. There are aqueducts under ground, and others that are continued by arches.

The aqueducts were the wonders of Rome. The great number that had been built there, the immense expences for bringing water thirty, forty, sixty miles, and still farther, upon arches either continued to Rome, or supplied by other works : all this surprizes and amazes us, and the more, because we are not accustomed to such bold undertakings, nor to purchase the convenience of the public at so dear a rate. (a) If we consider, says Pliny, the incredible quantity of water brought to Rome for the uses of the public, for fountains, baths, fish-ponds, private houses, gardens, and country-seats ; if we represent to ourselves the arches built at a great expence, and carried on a very great way, mountains levelled, rocks cut through, and deep valleys filled up ; we shall own that there is nothing more wonderful in the universe. Pliny in the same place mentions an aqueduct fi-

(a) Si quis diligentius æstima-  
verit aquarum abundantiam in publico, balneis, piscinis, domibus, euripis, hortis, suburbanis, villis, spatiisque advenientis aquæ ex-

structos arcus, montes perfossos, convalles æquatas ; fatebitur nihil magis mirandum fuisse in toto orbe terrarum. *Plin. l. 36. c. 15.*

nished by the Emperor Claudius, which brought water to Rome forty miles over the highest mountains : a work that cost immense sums.

Front de  
Aquæd.  
l. 1.

The Romans during more than four hundred and forty years, contented themselves with the waters of the Tiber, of the wells, and fountains of the city and those in the neighbourhood. But the city being considerably augmented in its extent and the number of its inhabitants, they were obliged to bring waters from remote places by the means of aqueducts. In the year of Rome 442, Appius Claudius, during his Censorship, (for the Censors and Ædiles had the care of the *Palestrina*. waters) brought water from its source at Præneste to the city by canals, either supported by arches, or continued under ground. Thirty-nine years after M'. Curius Dentatus, who was then Censor with Papirius Cursor, brought water also from the neighbourhood of the city of Tibur, and applied part of the sums taken in the spoils of Pyrrhus in that expence. Others afterwards proceeded upon the same plan, with the same views.

Tivoli.

Plin l. 36.  
15.

But Agrippa rose infinitely upon all who had preceded him. Every body knew at that time, that the true glory of the Ædiles did not consist so much in the celebration of games, a function they were indispensibly obliged to discharge in virtue of their office ; as in the construction of works useful to the public, of which the sight alone transmitted their names and memory to the latest posterity. It seems, that to give an illustrious example in this point, Agrippa, who was in the highest degree of favour with Augustus, had been three times Consul, and had passed through all the most splendid employments, was desirous to exercise the office of Ædile. He distinguished himself in it by

by all that *Ædiles* usually did, but principally by the care which he took to enrich Rome with prodigious quantities of fine water, either by cleansing the ancient canals and aqueducts, or adding new ones to them : which constitutes the beauty and convenience of a city, and contributes exceedingly to its cleanliness, and the goodness of the air ; advantages that merit great regard with respect to health, and especially at Rome. *Agrippa* applied himself intirely to this part of the civil government, which was one of the principal functions of the *Ædiles*. He made an hundred and thirty reservoirs to contain water, besides an hundred and five fountains for the use of the citizens, and seven hundred watering places for horses and other beasts of burden. And to embellish all these works, he disposed amongst them three hundred statues either of brass or marble, and four hundred marble pillars : a truly estimable magnificence, when united in that manner with public utility. These statues and columns did *Agrippa* more honour, so placed in the public streets and squares of Rome, than, if through a weak and mistaken self-love, he had shut them up, and in a manner kept them in prison, in his palaces and gardens. All this was compleated within the year of his *Ædileship*. Neither did he confine it solely to these glorious works. He undertook another, which, in my opinion, may be considered as still more important than them. I shall speak of it in the following section.

We undertake nothing in these days like these ancient works, whose beauty and grandeur appear to us in the precious remains of them, still superior to all that is related of them by authors. There are still to be seen in the country about Rome, great remains of aqueducts, arches continued.

tinued a great way, upon which were the canals that carried water to the city. These arches are sometimes low, sometimes of a great height, according as the inequality of the ground required. There are some aqueducts supported by two arches one above another, lest the too great height should prevent the work from being sufficiently solid. They are usually of bricks so well cemented, that it is very hard to separate them from their places. Every body has heard of Pont-de-guard, which consists of three rows of arches, one above another, and is believed to have been built by the Romans to carry on an aqueduct to the city of Nismes, from whence it is not above three leagues. It is still, after seventeen ages, the admiration of all who see it. When the land was so high, that the necessary descent could not be found, good subterraneous canals were made, which carried the water to the aqueducts above ground, and built at the bottom and on the declivity of the mountains. If the water could not have its way but through a rock, the rock was cut at the height of the higher, to bring the water into the lower, aqueduct. There is still to be seen beyond *Tibur* (*Tivoli*), such a canal cut through the rock for more than the space of a mile. This canal is about five feet deep and four broad.

It is impossible to refuse our admiration to such works as the Aqueducts, which not only contributed to the wants and conveniencies of the inhabitants of Rome, but also to the embellishment of the city in general, and of the houses and gardens of particulars by fountains and canals, which constituted their principal beauty. But we are going to see another use of them, which must appear still more estimable, though it does not make so splendid an appearance.

S E C T.

S E C T. III.

*Of the Common Sewers and Drains.*

I Must desire the Reader not to be prejudiced and disgusted by the name of the work upon which I am now a going to speak, which promises nothing but what is low and offensive, but of which Livy however says, uniting it with the great Circus built almost at the same time, that even under Augustus, when Rome had attained its highest degree of elevation, it could hardly shew any thing comparable to the grandeur and magnificence of those two works. *Quibus duobus operibus vix nova hæc magnificen-* Liv. l. 58.  
*tia quicquam adæquare potuit.*

It was Tarquin the Elder who formed the Liv. l. 38.  
design of, and, in some sense, finished the work in question. Rome, as all the world knows, had several hills within its walls. The rains and other waters overflowed the streets and places situated low, and very much incommoded the inhabitants by the dirt and filth, and still more by the stagnation of stinking waters that infected the air, and often occasioned diseases. Tarquin, like a great King who had noble views, and who believed himself only placed upon the throne for the good of his subjects, formed the design of delivering Rome from all its inconveniencies, and of rendering it a more healthy abode.

For this purpose, he caused subterraneous vaults to be built of incredible solidity, as we shall see in the sequel. They were divided into many branches, which extended into the several quarters of the city, and terminated all under the *Forum* in the great Common Sewer, called

*Cloaca* .

*Cloaca maxima*, that by a single canal emptied itself into the Tiber. These vaulted canals were sixteen feet broad, and thirteen high, so that a waggon loaded with hay might easily pass in them. Openings had been left at proper distances to receive the filth of the city, which kept it always very clean. The incredible quantity of waters, brought by the great number of aqueducts to Rome in whole rivers, and discharged into these Sewers, joined with the other rivulets which had been purposely made to run through them, and especially the declivity, which great care had been taken to give these subterraneous canals, made it impossible for the filth to continue long in them, and occasioned every thing to be presently carried off into the river.

Liv. l. 1.  
c. 55.

Tarquin the Proud put the last hand to the great *Cloaca*, and was perhaps obliged to enlarge it, because the city itself being much augmented by the addition of several hills, it was undoubtedly necessary to make particular Sewers in the new quarters, that emptied themselves like the rest into the great one.

Liv. l. 5.  
c. 55.

The burning of Rome by the Gauls, followed very soon by the rebuilding of the city, discomposed the order of this admirable work extremely. As every thing on that occasion was done in haste, and the people had no thoughts but of getting themselves habitations as soon as possible, each built where he pleased, without regard to lines, or following any fixed and stated plan. From thence it happened, as most of the streets were very narrow and irregular, that the subterraneous canals, which before ran along the middle of the streets and public places, were most of them under private houses, which could not in all appearance but be attended with considerable

considerable inconveniencies. The work however continued firm and whole for many ages, notwithstanding all the accidents that might have hurt it. This Pliny tells us, where he speaks of the care Agrippa took of the Sewers during his *Ædileship*. (a) Having opened the sluices, that kept the water brought to Rome by seven aqueducts in the same number of great reservoirs, that water fell with incredible rapidity like so many torrents into the subterraneous vaults, and carried away with it all the filth, which they might insensibly have contracted, notwithstanding the attention of the Censors and *Ædiles*, (and indeed that was inevitable) and perhaps through the neglect of some of those magistrates. Agrippa succeeded so perfectly in cleansing these Drains, that he in a manner made those subterraneous vaults, canals of pleasure, and diverted himself with going down in a boat from the entrance of the great Sewer to the place where it emptied itself into the Tiber. The arched work of those Drains must have been of a solidity of proof against all things, as they were capable of supporting the weight of the houses built upon them to which they served instead of foundations; the weight of the pavement of the streets, which in the manner it was prepared, as we have seen above, must have been very

(a) A Marco Agrippa in *Ædilitate* post *Consulatum*, per ineatus corrivati septem annes, cursuque præcipiti torrentium modo rapere atque auferre omnia coacti, insuper mole imbrium concitati, vada ac latera quatiant: aliquando Tiberis retro intui recipiunt fluctus, pugnantque

diversi aquarum impetus intus; & tamen obnoxia firmitas resistit — Pulsant ruinae, sponte præcipites aut impactæ incendiis: quatitur solum terræ motibus. Durant tamen à Tarquinio Prisco annis DCC prope inexpugnabiles. *Plin. l. 36. c. 15.*

heavy; and that of the innumerable carriages perpetually passing to and fro in the streets of Rome. Add to all this, with Pliny, the falling down of houses either through decay or fires. earthquakes that happened from time to time, and the impetuosity of the waters which fell like torrents into the Sewers, and which were often driven back with violence by the waves of the Tiber when it overflowed. Notwithstanding which, says Pliny, these vaults have subsisted from Tarquinius Priscus down to our time, that is to say above six hundred and fifty years, almost as firm and solid as at first.

These were works truly worthy of the Roman greatness; and I am not afraid to say, that to estimate things according to their real value, the Sewers of Rome, though buried deep in the earth, were highly to be preferred to those enormous piles the Pyramids of Egypt, which rise almost into the clouds, and which Pliny has reason to define, “A foolish and useless

Plin. 1. “ostentation of the riches of kings.” *Regum pecuniae otiosa ac stulta ostentatio.*  
36. c. 12.

The city of Paris, animated by the zeal and good taste of Mr. *Turgot* her Mayor, seems to intend to imitate ancient Rome. The considerable expences which she employs on works that have no end, but the convenience and embellishment of the capital of the kingdom, are well bestowed, and will do great honour to the wise magistrate who presides over her, and those who form his council.

## ARTICLE III.

*Short dissertation upon the cruel treatment of debtors by their creditors.*

THE manner in which debtors were treated at Rome by their creditors, was a continual source of trouble and division between the two Orders of the State. It was a Right established at Rome, probably from the foundation of the city, either by an express law, or purely by custom, that debtors, who were not in a condition to pay their debts, should be delivered up to their creditors, to be employed by them in the same works as slaves. There seemed a kind of justice in obliging debtors, that could not discharge their debts by money, to discharge them by services done their creditors, who, for instance, sent them to work in cultivating their lands in the country, or employed them in the same works as other slaves in their houses. And in order that they might not fly, they wore chains both in the city and country ; from whence they were called *Nexi*.

If they had contented themselves with exacting only this kind of service and work, it would perhaps be difficult, as we shall shew in the sequel, to charge the custom with injustice. But the creditors, who were almost all usurers by profession, did not stop there. There was no kind of cruelty, ill treatment or indignity, that they did not make them suffer. What Dionysius Halicarnassensis makes Sicinnius, chief of the faction who supported the interests of those poor debtors, say to them, shews to what an excess their misery was carried. “ We  
 “ are reduced to the cruel necessity of culti-  
 D 2 vating

Dion. Hal.  
l. 6. p. 402.

“ vating our own lands for the advantage of  
 “ these insatiable tyrants, to dig, to plant, to  
 “ toil, and to keep cattle, in company with  
 “ the slaves taken by our own arms, and  
 “ treated in all things like them, some with  
 “ chains at their hands, some at their feet, and  
 “ others with iron collars about their necks  
 “ like brute beasts ; not to mention the  
 “ bitter injuries and insults, the insolence and  
 “ cruelty of those barbarous wretches, which  
 “ often vents itself in tearing and torturing our  
 “ bodies with scourges.

Id. p. 361. These complaints may be considered as great exaggerations. But in the same historian we find an old man, who had been in twenty eight battles, and received many rewards of his valour ; who not being able to pay his debts, had been delivered up with his children to his creditors. Having escaped from prison, he presented himself before the People to implore their compassion, shewing his breast covered with wounds received in defence of his country, and his back still bleeding with the lashes he had just received from his creditor. (a) Livy relates the same fact, and with the same circumstances.

A. R. 259. This fact occasioned the first sedition of the People, and their secession to the Sacred Mountain. After abundance of deliberations, an accommodation was at length concluded. It is surprising that amongst the conditions of this treaty, Livy should not say a single word concerning the debts, which had been the sole cause of this tumult : he only speaks of the institution of the Tribunes of the People.

a) Ductum se ab creditore, non in servitium, sed tergum scdum recentibus vestigis verberum. . Liv. in ergastulum. & carnificem esse. Inde offensam. l. 2. c. 23.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus supplies us with what passed in that respect. The following, according to him, are the words of Menenius Agrippa to the People in the name of the Senate.

“ As to those who are not in a condition to  
 “ pay their debts, we agree it is just that they  
 “ should be remitted to them : and if any  
 “ debtors have been delivered up for non-pay-  
 “ ment in time, it is our will that they be  
 “ set at liberty. We also decree that those,  
 “ against whom their creditors have obtained  
 “ from the judges sentence to seize their bo-  
 “ dies, shall be discharged, and we cancel all  
 “ such sentences passed against them.” All these  
 clauses regarded the past : and it was agreed for  
 the time to come, that the Senate and People  
 in concert should make a regulation in respect  
 to debts which should have the force of a law.  
 It does not appear that any such **was** made.  
 The People probably judged the institution of  
 the Tribunes a sufficient barrier against the in-  
 justice and violence of creditors.

If that office were so at first, that refuge was  
 of no long duration, and did not secure the  
 People. Amongst the laws of the Twelve  
 Tables, that is to say less than fifty years after,  
 there was one, which in express terms gave cre-  
 ditors the same rights over their debtors, as ex-  
 cited the **sedition** I have just been speak-  
 ing of, and carried things still much farther.  
 The judges granted a debtor thirty days to find  
 means for paying his debts. If he suffered that  
 time to elapse without payment, he was de-  
 livered up to his creditors, whom the law per-  
 mitted to keep him in irons : and he conti-  
 nued sixty days in them. During that inter-  
 val, he was made to appear three market days  
 successively before the Prætor, and proclama-  
 tion

tion was made of the sum in which he was found and declared to be indebted. And if he did not either pay it on the third market day, or find sufficient security, he was condemned (a) to lose his head, or to be sold as a slave into a strange country on the other side of the Tiber. This capital punishment only for debt makes one tremble. The law however was not contented with that. (b) To inspire by so atrocious and shocking an ordinance a greater horror for breach of faith in the commerce of the world and civil society (for that appears to be the motive for so strange a law) it permitted creditors, if there were a plurality of them, to cut the dead body of their common debtor into several parts, and to divide it amongst them.

I do not know whether there be any thing in all Pagan antiquity more horrid than this law. In consequence it was (c) abrogated by non-usage, and the general detestation of such inhuman cruelty. The first part of this law, which delivered up debtors to their creditors, continued afterwards in all its force, and occasioned the same complaints and violences, as had induced the People before to retire to the Sacred Mountain. This was the pretext Man-

(a) *capitis damnatio dabant, aut in locum peregrinum perire veniri solum.*

(b) *Et in capitis poenam faciendam, non tam, sicut gratia, hominum, sed tantis obsequiis, ut ex omnibus materiam redoleretur.*

(c) *Quia, quædam non laudanda natura, sed jure con-*

*cessa ut in XII tabulis debitoris corpus inter creditores si id. licuit: quam legem mos publicus repudiavit.*

*Quintil. l. 3. c. 6*

*Judicatos in partes secari à creditoribus leges erant, consensu tamen publico crudelitas postea erasa est. Tertul. Apolog. c. 4.*

tious ends, well (*a*) knowing, that he could not use a more proper means for exasperating the populace, and attaching them to himself than the affair of the debts, which included indigence, ignominy, slavery and torments. This oppression of the People augmented continually in succeeding years. The (*b*) poor citizens were seen delivered in crowds to the cruelty of their creditors by the decrees of the judges, and many houses of the Patricians turned into mournful prisons, where these unhappy wretches were confined, chained hand and foot.

A. R. 386.

Something more than forty years after, the criminal passion and inhuman cruelty of a creditor in regard to a young citizen, who appeared in public with his back streaked with stripes, awakened the indolence of the Senate a little. The Consuls had orders to propose a law to the People to prohibit the imprisoning of any citizen for debt, and to give creditors a right only over the fortunes, and not the persons of their debtors. The law passed, and in consequence all who were confined for debt were set at liberty ; and it was prohibited to imprison debtors for the future. Livy seems tacitely to condemn this law in saying : (*c*) “ That one  
“ man’s crime gave a terrible blow that day  
“ to public credit, which is the strongest tie of  
“ society.

A. R. 429.  
Liv. l. 8.  
c. 28.

(*a*) Fidem moliri cœpit : in nervum ac supplicia dare ?  
acriores quippe æris alieni stimulos esse, qui non egestatem modo atque ignominiam vinctis nobiles domos ? & ubicunque patricius habitet, ibi carcerem privatum esse ?  
tent. Liv. l. 6. c. 36.

(*b*) An placeret fœnore circumventam plebem — corpus  
(*c*) Victum eo die ob impotentem injuriam unius ingens vinculum fidei. Liv.

A. R. 465.  
Val. Max.  
l. 6. c. 1.

This law was but a weak bulwark against the avarice and violence of creditors ; for forty years after we find that it was necessary to revive it upon a like occasion, when the People retired to the hill Janiculum.

The subject I am now treating concerning the debts, continued always to excite great troubles at Rome to the end of the Commonwealth. It must give the reader a secret disgust for the Senate, who seem, if not to favour this disorder, at least to suffer it too passively, and not to oppose it with all the constancy, which the importance of the affair required, as well as the duty of a body ; that ought to have considered themselves charged by their station with the defence of the poor, and established for the support of good order and union between the citizens.

But attention is to be had to the motives by which the magistrates regulated their conduct in respect to the debtors. Their great principle was, as Dionysius Halicarnassensis makes Appian say in express terms, *That the sacred pledge of public faith ought never to be retrenched from human society.* Cicero in his second book of Offices, where he treats this point with sufficient extent, lays down the same principle. (a) *If faith be not kept, says he, no Commonwealth can subsist : and there is no faith, where debtors can exempt themselves from paying their debts.* The duty of magistrates, according to him, would be to prevent, as there are a thousand methods to do, the citizens from contracting debts, so as to involve the Commonwealth in the consequence. At least, when that misfortune hap-

(a) Nec enim ulla res vehementius rempublicam continet, quam fides quæ esse nulla potest nisi erit necessaria solutio rerum creditarum. *Offic. l. 2. c. 84.*

pens, they ought to relieve them to the utmost of their power, and to prevent the unhappy consequences, that the extreme misery of the People may occasion. And this is what we have seen the Senate do. It fixes the interest of money lent at one *per cent*: it does not seem possible to make it less. However, ten years after, it reduces it to half an one. Sometimes it gives the debtors time to discharge their debts at different payments: sometimes it pays their debts out of the public treasury, taking proper security in behalf of the State: sometimes it discharges them of all arrears, and obliges them to pay only the interest. It prohibits creditors to use debtors delivered up to them with cruelty; and afterwards it absolutely prohibits delivering them up at all. All these measures indeed did not entirely relieve the poor; and still left them in a kind of misery. But, (*a*) besides that on the part of the debtors there is often fraud, or at least negligence, the Senate was less affected with their condition, though worthy of compassion, than with the care of not hurting public credit.

Not to condemn the conduct of so wise a body as the Roman Senate lightly, let us go farther back, and consider what passed on this head amongst the Hebrews, who had God himself for their Legislator.

Every Hebrew who had borrowed upon his land, could not re-enter into possession of it, till after his estate, which was delivered up to his creditors, had discharged his debts, or in the year of Jubilee, when all lands returned to their first owners. Without this severity, of

(*a*) Et sic quoque parte potior ad curam Senatui fuit.  
Plebis affecta, fides tamen Liv. l. 7. c. 27.  
publica privatis difficultatibus

which

which God himself was the institutor and guarantee, every individual might have inclined to borrow through confidence of never paying; or rather nobody would have lent, through fear, or a moral certainty, of never seeing their money again. What in such a case would have become of society, when all faith and credit would have been annihilated even by the protection of the laws and the magistrates? To whom could any one have had recourse in the most urgent necessity?

For the same reasons, a person who had no estate, of which he could renounce possession to reimburse his creditor, was abandoned to him by the law of God, to be his slave till the seventh year, before which the debtor could have no hopes of liberty.

So far, and in these two cases, the Roman polity, which perfectly resembled that of the Hebrews, was strictly just; and it cannot be blamed, without accusing God himself, who had established a like law amongst his people.

At Rome indeed the creditors abused it; as some creditors also did amongst the Hebrews. God reproaches those cruel and inhuman masters; he menaces them; he exhorts them to be merciful; he puts them in mind of their slavery in Egypt, and declares that he will punish their inhumanity. But these inconveniencies, foreseen and foretold by God, never induced him to abolish a law, which masters sometimes abused, as it is usual for the passions to abuse whatever is most legal. The inconveniencies and violences fell only upon a small number of individuals, which could not dissolve the bands of society: whereas the general impunity of debtors would not have failed to subvert entirely the common-

commonwealth of the Hebrews as well as that of the Romans.

Since the establishment of Christianity, the most moderate and religious states have imprisoned those who fail to pay their bills of exchange, and other obligations to pay at fixed times. The law gives a right to seize the bodies of such defaulters, and to keep them in prison as long as they live, if they do not satisfy their creditors. The support of States subjects them universally to this rigour, notwithstanding the natural compassion for unhappy insolvents, because it is believed indispensibly necessary to take all possible precautions against breach of credit, much more natural and usual amongst men, than cruelty.

To judge equitably therefore of the Senate's conduct in respect to the affair in question, we must distinguish between the law of debts, which is full of justice and equity in itself, and the unjust abuse made of it. The Tribunes of the People, who regarded nothing but attaching the populace to themselves by any means whatsoever, and who had not the Public Good in view, often proposed the entire remittance of debts, which was called in Latin *novas tabulas*. Every one had an account in his books of the sums he had lent, with the hands of the borrowers to them; which was the creditor's security. The cancelling then of these accounts was evidently abolishing the debts. Solon, when he instituted new laws at Athens, used this method, which has been considered with reason as extreme injustice. What right had he to dispose in that manner of people's fortunes? To this first bait, so well adapted to allure the People, the Tribunes added a second, neither less dangerous nor unjust: this was a new distribution of lands.

The

The Roman History resounds universally with the cries and tumults excited by these two seditious demands of the Tribunes, which we have seen always strongly opposed by the Senate as prizes that would infallibly induce the subversion of liberty, and the ruin of the state, which actually happened in the sequel.

Offic. l. 2.  
n. 81, 82.

Plut. in  
Arat.  
p. 1031.

Though there might have been some injustice in the first acquisition or usurpation of those lands, to reform that abuse, after a possession of so many ages, could not be attempted, without occasioning a general ruin and confusion in the fortunes of particulars. Aratus, amongst the Greeks, rightly perceived this inconvenience, and it is not without reason that Cicero highly extols the wisdom he shewed in a like conjuncture. Having re-taken Sicyon, and caused the Tyrant Nicocles to be put to death, he recalled six hundred of the most illustrious citizens, whom the Tyrants had expelled, after having deprived them of their whole estates. But he found himself in great perplexity on this occasion. On the **one** side, he did not think it just that they should remain in necessity, whilst others enjoyed the houses and lands of which they had been deprived. But at the same time he judged it unjust to disturb a possession of fifty years; and the more, because during that time a great part of those estates, having either passed from hand to hand by successions, sales, or marriages, were possessed with good right by those who were actually seized of them. (And this was exactly the case of the possessors of land at Rome.) To indemnify the possessors, required considerable sums. Aratus had recourse to the liberality of Ptolomy Philadelphus King of Egypt, his particular friend, who, upon the account which Aratus gave him of the difficulty he was under,

under, made him a present of an hundred and fifty talents, that is, an hundred and fifty thousand crowns. This was indeed to be a King, and to know the true use and value of money! Aratus, on his return to Sicyon, accommodated every thing, without giving any one cause to complain. (a) *O the great man*, cries Cicero, *how worthy he was of being born in our commonwealth!*

At Rome, in the happy times of the commonwealth, the well-inclined Senators and magistrates thought like Aratus, both in respect to the distribution of lands, and the remittance of debts; and from thence came their continual perseverance in opposing those two demands of the Tribunes. It was the same in the latter times. “ Cicero says expressly, that to under- Office. l. 2.  
“ take to discharge debtors by the authority of n. 78.  
“ the magistrate, or to pass the law so often  
“ proposed for the distribution of lands, is to  
“ sap the two principal foundations of the com-  
“ monwealth; of which the one is peace be-  
“ tween the citizens, which could not subsist,  
“ if creditors were to lose their fortunes by the  
“ discharging of debtors; and the other justice,  
“ which is intirely subverted, from the instant  
“ no one can assure himself of continuing  
“ peaceable possessor of his right.” The Agrarian law, which had for its object a new distribution of the lands possessed by the Rich, and which was so vigorously pursued by the Gracchi, brought the commonwealth to the very brink of destruction, and cost those two illustrious brothers their lives, though estimable in other respects for many excellent qualities. The affair of the debts was also brought on again in

(a) *O virum magnum, dignumque qui in nostra republica natus esset!*

the Consulship of Cicero, as himself informs us, and was urged with abundance of vivacity. Ibid.n.84. “ So many efforts were never made for remitting debts, as in my Consulship. It was carried so far as taking of arms, and setting troops on foot ; and persons \* of all ranks and conditions entered into the conspiracy. But they found so vigorous an opposer in me, that the commonwealth was entirely delivered from that danger. There never were so many debtors, nor ever were payments made with more fidelity, nor less trouble to creditors. For when people saw themselves incapable of using fraud, they thought only of discharging themselves.”

Usury was undoubtedly permitted by the Roman laws : but the bad conduct of the borrowers supplied lenders with occasions of exercising usury with less reserve. Accordingly we see in all I have hitherto related, that usury, one of the principal causes of the debts contracted by the poor, could never be reformed at Rome, whatever attention the magistrates might have to put a stop to the progress of that disorder by wise regulations, which the surprizing evasions of avarice always rendered ineffectual. Tacit. Annal.1.6. c. 16. *Multis plebis obviæ itum fraudibus : quæ totiens repressæ, miras per artes rursus oriebantur.*

\* They were excited to it by Catiline, and supported by Julius Cæsar.

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T H E

R O M A N H I S T O R Y.

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B O O K T H E E I G H T H.

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**T**HIS eighth book contains the history of thirty-seven years, from the accusation of Manlius in the 393d year of Rome to the Dictatorship of Papirius Cursor, who is for putting Q. Fabius, general of the horse, to death, for having fought the Samnites during his absence, and contrary to his orders, the 430th year of Rome.

S E C T. I.

*Manlius is obliged to abdicate the Dictatorship.*

*He is accused by the Tribunes, and saved by his son. Tribunes of the legions nominated by the People. M. Curtius devotes himself to the Dii Manes, and leaps into an abyss. Bad success of the first Plebeian Consul. The Hernici defeated by the Dictator Appius Claudius. Signal victory of young Manlius over a Gaul. Alliance renewed with the Latines. The Gauls defeated again by the Dictator Sulpicius. Law which fixes the interest of money at one per cent. Another law passed in the camp, to impose a new tax upon the manumission of slaves. Prohibition to assemble the People out of the city. Licinius Stolo condemned by his own law. Dictator chosen*

*sen out of the People for the first time. Two Patricians Consuls. Vengeance taken of the inhabitants of Tarquinii. The Roman People pardon the city of Cere. The Plebeians re-instated in the Consulship. Affair of the debts terminated.*

A. R. 392.  
Ant. C. 360.

CN. GENUCIUS.

L. ÆMILIUS, II.

*Manlius is obliged to abdicate the Dictatorship.*  
Liv. l. 7.  
c. 3—5.

WE have seen in the preceding volume, that Manlius, appointed Dictator for driving the nail into the temple of Jupiter, did not confine the exercise of his office to the religious ceremony for which he was created Dictator. He determined to attack the Herrici, and for that purpose applied himself to making the Levies. The Roman youth opposing him, he proceeded to violence. Some he fined, some he caused to be scourged with rods, and others he committed to prison: till at length all the Tribunes of the People rising up against him, he was obliged to give way, and to abdicate the Dictatorship.

A. R. 393.  
Ant. C. 359.

Q SERVILIUS AHALA, II.

L. GENUCIUS, II.

As soon as Manlius had abdicated, he was accused before the People by the Tribune M. Pomponius. The accusation brought against him was for his irregular and rigorous conduct in the Dictatorship. The Tribune at the same time took pains to render him odious by his savage disposition, and the cruelty of his behaviour, not only to strangers, but to his own son. (a) He reproached him, “ That having a son  
“ of

(a) Crimini ei Tribunus unum juvenem nullius probri inter cætera dabat, quod filii-comperit, extorrem urbe, domo,

“ of age to appear in the world, against whom A. R. 393.  
Ant. C. 559.  
“ he had no cause of complaint, he banished  
“ him far from the city, from his home, his  
“ household gods, the Forum, and commerce  
“ with those of his own age, and condemned  
“ him to servile works, and a prison almost  
“ like a slave; where a young man, of so il-  
“ lustrious birth, the son of a Dictator, had  
“ room to learn every day from his own mi-  
“ sery, that it was not without reason the title  
“ of *Imperious* had been given to his father.  
“ And for what crime is he treated with so  
“ much rigour? why, because he does not speak  
“ readily. Ought not a father, who had any  
“ natural affection in him, to endeavour to  
“ correct such a defect by gentle methods, ra-  
“ ther than to render it still more remarkable  
“ by the cruelty with which he treats his son.  
“ The brute beasts themselves do not nourish  
“ their young with the less care and tenderness  
“ upon account of some deformity. Manlius  
“ on the contrary, by his manner of governing  
“ his son, adds bad to bad. He augments the  
“ natural slowness of his parts; and if he has  
“ any seed, any spark of a good disposition in  
“ him, he stifles and suppresses it by a country  
“ life, a rustic education, and reducing him to  
“ the society of beasts.”

These invectives incensed the whole city against Manlius, except only him who was the subject of the rigor with which his father was

domo, penatibus, foro, luce, congressu æqualium prohibi-  
bitum, in opus servile, prope in carcerem atque in ergastulum dederit: ubi summo loco natus Dictatorius juvenis quotidiana miseria disceret, verè imperioso patre se

natum esse. At quam ob noxam? Quia infacundior sit, & lingua inpromptus? *Liv.*  
Relegatus à patre ob adolescentiam brutam & hebetem. *Serv. et Liv. f. l. 3. c. 37.*

A. R. 101. so much reproached. Not being able to bear  
 Ann. C. 375. that he should be made odious, as he was in-  
 formed he was, upon his account, he deter-  
 mined to make known to gods and men by a  
 remarkable action, that far from favouring his  
 father's accusers, he would defend and assist him.  
 Accordingly (a) he formed a resolution, which  
 favoured indeed of the rude manner in which  
 he had been brought up, and was without doubt  
 of dangerous example in a State, but however  
 laudable in the motive from which it proceeded.  
 One morning, without apprizing any body, he  
 came to the city armed with a dagger, and  
 went directly to the house of the Tribune Pom-  
 ponius, who was still in bed. He told his  
 name, and was immediately brought in, be-  
 cause the Tribune did not doubt, but the young  
 man, incensed against his father, had either  
 some new subject of accusation to suggest a-  
 gainst him, or some counsel to give him upon  
 the manner in which he was to conduct the af-  
 fair. Young Manlius desired a moment's pri-  
 vate discourse with him : and as soon as he saw  
 himself alone with the Tribune, drew out his  
 dagger, presented it to his breast, and de-  
 clared that he would kill him that instant, if he  
 did not swear in the form he should dictate, *ne-  
 ver to bold the assembly of the People for accusing  
 his father.* (b) The trembling Tribune, who  
 saw the dagger glittering at his breast, himself  
 alone, without arms, attacked by a robust  
 young man, and which was not less to be feared,

(a) Capit consilium, rudis  
 quidem atque agrestis animi,  
 & quonquam non civilis ex-  
 ercit, tamen pietate lauda-  
 bile. Liv.

(b) Pavidos Tribunus  
 quippe qui nescit ante o-

culos micare, se solum, iner-  
 nem, illum praevalidum juve-  
 nem, & quod haud minus  
 timendum erat, stolidè fero-  
 cem viribus suis cerneret)  
 adjurat in quæ adactus est  
 verba. Liv.

one full of a brutal confidence in his own strength, took the oath demanded of him, and afterwards confessed with a kind of complacency in the thing, and a sincerity which sufficiently argued he was not sorry for what he had done, that it was that violence which obliged him to desist from his enterprize.

This action is without doubt irregular in itself: but that defect is covered in some measure by the generosity and filial piety, which shine out in it with great lustre. And it was in that light the Roman People judged of it. Though they would gladly have handled so haughty and cruel an accused person as Manlius Imperiosus with severity; they could not disapprove the bold step of his son to save his father. They thought it even the more laudable, as the excessive rigor of Manlius in regard to that son, had not been capable of extinguishing the sentiments of nature in him. The People believed themselves obliged to reward an action so generous and so full of piety, as I shall soon observe.

We see here in the person of young Manlius an illustrious example of what the sentiments of nature can and ought to produce in the heart of a son, and of the highest degree of respect and tenderness he is capable of having for a father. The writers of the Pagan world well knew the whole extent of this duty, and have strongly and often insisted upon the obligation of children (a) not only to dissemble and conceal the ill treatment they may receive from their fathers and mothers, but to suffer it with a submission and patience of proof against the most

(a) Facile intelligo. non modo æquo ferre oportere. *Cic. pro Cluent. n. 17.*  
modò reticere homines parentum injurias, sed etiam ani-

A. R. 293.  
A. U. C. 459.

flagrant injustice. Was ever son treated more unjustly by his father, than young Manlius? It is however at the very time he experiences the most cruel rigor from him, and may see himself revenged and delivered, without contributing in the least to it on his part, that he flies to his defence, and solely engrossed by the desire of saving his father, and the thought that he is a son, forgets all other duties.

From this principle the same Pagans inferred another duty, still more indispensable according to them, which was to continue inviolably attached to their country, whatever injury they might receive from it. (a) It is for her to testify her gratitude for the services rendered her by citizens: but the worst usage, even punishment itself, ought not to make a citizen of true greatness of soul repent his having served his country with zeal and fidelity. This is the important lesson given us by Camillus. In the first moments indeed of his affliction, a desire little worthy of him escaped him in respect to his ungrateful country, which shews (b) how sensible the greatest men are of ignominy. But after that first emotion, the natural sentiments of his heart soon take place, and banishment serves only to awaken and augment his zeal for the same country, and to make it appear in a more distinguished light.

In a monarchy \* the subjects owe a king all that citizens owe their country in a republican government. I

(a) Populi grati est primum afficere bene meritos de rep. cives: viri fortis, ne supplicii quidem moveri, ut fortiter fecisse poeniteat. Cic. *pro Mili.* n. 22.

(b) Habet quemdam acu-

leum contumelia, quem patiens prudentes ac viri boni difficillimè possunt. Cic. *Var.* 4. n. 95.

\* Mr. Rollin means, we suppose, as long as he continues to be a King, that is to say, the

I have said that the action of young Manlius was rewarded by the People, who nominated him Tribune of a legion: a considerable favour, which was only granted to the zeal he had shewn in defence of his father, as that young Roman, having been educated till then in the country, could not have made himself known in any other manner.

A. R. 393.  
Ant. C. 359.  
*Tribunes of the legions nominated by the People.*

This is the first time, that the People disposed of these military dignities, which are generally understood to be of the same rank with a modern colonel. But there is however a considerable difference between them. In each legion were six Tribunes, each of whom did not command a certain determinate part of the legion, but the whole legion in their turns. Two commanded two months, and were afterwards relieved by two others, and so on. The Consuls had conferred these employments till now; which were twenty-four important posts in their disposal. For as we have said just above, there were six Tribunes in each legion, and the number of legions raised every year were generally four, two for each Consul. The People began this year to dispose of six of these places, and gave the second to Manlius. Fifty years after, of the four and twenty Tribunes, they nominated sixteen.

Liv. l. 9.

The same year the earth is said to have opened and formed a kind of very deep gulph in the Forum, which could not be filled up, though great quantities of earth were thrown into it for that purpose. According to the usual

c. 30.  
*M. Curius devotes himself to the Dii Manes, and leaps*

*the Father, the Common Good of his People: for then duty to him is no doubt duty to one's country; and consequently we may say with him, In a mo-*

narchy subjects owe such a King all that citizens owe their country in a Republican government.

*into an abyss, which immediately closes upon him.*

Liv. l. 8.

A. R. 300  
Ann. C. 310.

custom in such cases, the Soothsayers were consulted, who answered that if the Romans would have the duration of their empire eternal, they must throw what constituted their principal force into that abyss. They were at a loss for some time to comprehend the sense of this answer, when a young man named M. Curtius, who had distinguished himself by a great number of noble exploits in war, came unexpectedly into the Forum completely armed, and mounted on a horse in magnificent furniture. He said, that he was surprized they should be in a moment's suspense about what constituted the principal strength of the Romans, which were arms and valour: he then devoted himself to the *Dii Manes*, and leapt into the gulph, which immediately, says the story, closed upon him. This place was afterward called, *The lake of Curtius*. Livy (*a*) relates this fact, without vouching for the truth of it, finding it only supported by popular tradition; whereby he confesses clearly enough, that he considers it as fabulous; and in his first book he has related a less marvellous, but more probable origin of the name of the Curtian Lake.

However it were, after this event, the Roman army marched against the Hernici under the command of Genucius, to whom that province fell by lot. He was the first Plebeian Consul, who was charged with the conduct of a war. On this account the Commonwealth expected the event with anxiety, because from this first success people would not fail of judging concerning the reasonableness of admitting Plebeians into the Consulship. Genucius un-

*a* Nunc famâ rerum sanandum est, ubi certam derogat  
*historia*

fortunately

fortunately fell into an ambuscade, where he A. R. 393.  
Ant. C. 329. was killed, and the army put to the rout. When that news arrived at Rome, the Senators, less afflicted for the danger of the public, than triumphant on account of the bad success of a Plebeian Consul, vented a thousand reproaches on all sides, telling the Plebeians with insult, “ That they might change the ancient customs “ as they pleased : that they might create Consuls out of the People, and disturb the established order of the auspices and sacred ceremonies : That by an ordinance of the People they might deprive the Patricians of the honours that appertained to them : but would such illegal ordinances take place, or have any power against the immortal gods ? That the gods themselves had avenged the contempt of their divinity. That the violation of the auspices, punished by the defeat of the army and the death of the general, who had profaned the sanctity of them, was a terrible lesson, that ought to teach the People not to interrupt in the assemblies, as they had done, the rights and privileges of families.” The Senate and Forum resounded with discourses of this kind.

Appius Claudius, who had been the most strenuous opposer of this law, was declared Dictator, and chose Servilius for his general of the horse. Before they arrived at the army, Sulpicius the lieutenant, had gained some advantage over the enemy. As the latter assured themselves that the Romans would be reinforced from the city, they also augmented their troops, with the whole flower of their youth. The two armies no sooner came in view, than the signal was given. The action was very rude, and the success long doubtful. The loss

A. R. 393.  
 Ant. C. 339.

on both sides was very considerable, and fell principally upon the officers who engaged with great ardor in the battle. Abundance of the Roman knights who had dismounted to sustain the foot fell in it: But the Hernici at length were broke and put to flight. Night prevented them from being pursued. The next day they abandoned their camp, which the Romans took.

A. R. 394.  
 Ant. C. 338.

C. SULPICIUS II.

C. LICINIUS II.

Signal  
 of the  
 Gauls  
 in the  
 year  
 394.  
 Ant. C.  
 338.

The Romans in the following years had some wars of small importance against the neighbouring people: that against the Gauls gave them most apprehension, and occasioned the nominating a Dictator. They were advanced within three miles of Rome. The Romans marched against them. The two armies continued some time in sight of each other without coming to action, separated only by the bridge over the Anio. A Gaul of an enormous stature advanced upon that bridge, and cried out with a loud voice: *Let the bravest of the Romans come out and fight me, that the success of the combat may shew which of the two nations has the most valour.* His uncommon size intimidated the boldest; when T. Manlius, the same who had signalized his piety in respect to his father, went to the Dictator. *I should be far from engaging in a combat,* said he, *without your orders, even though I were sure of victory. But, if you will afford me your permission, I will teach this challenger who insults us, that I am of the family who drove the Gauls from the top of the Tarpeian Rock.* The Dictator, after giving him great praises, bade him go and sustain the honour of the Roman name. The

cham-

champion armed and advanced to the bridge, where he found the Gaul, who in the pride of his enormous strength triumphed already, and put out his tongue by way of derision and insult; which circumstance Livy repeats after the ancient historians. To judge from their outsides, the match seemed extremely unequal. The splendid part of the shew was entirely on the side of the Gaul: extraordinary stature, habit of different colours, with arms painted, and adorned with gold. The Roman was of a reasonable size, and such as one would desire in a soldier. His arms were rather adapted to use, than intended for beauty. He was not heard to raise any cries, or make any violent motions in advancing: but full of intrepid courage, and tacit indignation, he reserved all his efforts for the combat. When they were near each other upon the bridge, in view of both armies anxious for their success and fluctuating between hope and fear, the Gaul heavy and huge, advancing his buckler on his left before him, discharged with a great noise a blow of his sabre upon the arms of the Roman, who raising the point of the sabre with his shield, and dextrously placing himself out of the reach of his blows by closing in, thrust his sword into his belly, and laid him dead at his feet. He then took only one chain of his spoils, which he immediately put about his own neck. Whilst terror and amazement kept the Gauls motionless, the Romans full of joy advanced to meet the young victor, and with the highest praises conducted him in triumph to the Dictator. Amidst their acclamations of joy the soldiers were heard to give him the surname of *Torquatus*\*, which his posterity retained ever

A. R. 394.  
Ant. C. 353.

\* This surname is derived from the latin word *Torques*, a chain or gorget; which was an ornament worn by the Gauls.  
after,

A. R. 302.  
Ann. C. 118.

after, and it became a title of honour to his family. The Dictator made him a present of a crown of gold, and in the presence of the whole army exalted the glory of his victory by the great praises he gave him. It was attended with an immediate good effect ; for the Gauls considering the event of this single combat as a bad omen to them, abandoned their camp the night following, and retired in disorder into the territory of the people of Tibur, who, according to some authors, had engaged them in this war.

A. R. 303.  
Ann. C. 119.

C. PETELIUS BALBUS.

M. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.

Liv. 1. 7.  
C. 11.

The war against the Hernici fell by lot to Petelius, as that against the Tiburtini did to Fabius. The Gauls approached Rome. On that news a Dictator was created, according to the established custom of those times in wars with the Gauls. A battle ensued, which was warm and long disputed. The Gauls were at length put to flight, and retired to Tibur. Each of the two Consuls succeeded also on their side.

A. R. 304.  
Ann. C. 120.

M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

CN. MANLIUS.

The Tiburtes had also the boldness to approach Rome ; but they were repulsed with loss.

A. R. 305.  
Ann. C. 121.

C. FABIVS.

C. PLAUTIUS.

Liv. 1. 10.  
C. 14.

A new attack on the side of the Gauls obliged the Romans to take the field again. Those people were highly exasperated against Rome. Besides their hopes of booty, they sought to revenge the defeats of their countrymen. The neighbouring states and enemies of Rome, however incommodious these guests were, retained

them also as long as they could amongst them, in hopes of ruining, if possible, or at least of humbling, the Roman power. In the midst of these alarms, the Romans were exceedingly consoled by the aid they received from the Latines, with whom they had lately renewed the ancient treaty, which had long been suspended and not executed. After having chosen Sulpicius Dictator, they marched against the Gauls. The troops on both sides desired a battle with the utmost ardor. The Dictator, who was wise and experienced, did not give himself up to the same restless warmth. (a) He did not believe it adviseable to hasten a battle without necessity with an enemy, whose troops diminished every day in a strange country, where they had neither laid up provisions, nor formed intrenchments, and who besides, whether considered as to force of body or courage, had only a first fire, a transient vivacity, that relaxed and expired, if suffered to cool by ever so small a delay. For these reasons the Dictator protracted the war, and had prohibited fighting without orders upon pain of the greatest severity. The soldiers suffering this prohibition with regret, complained of it amongst themselves on their guards, speaking very ill of the Dictator, and sometimes of the whole Senate, for not confiding this war to the Consuls. They said by way of ridicule, “ That they had made choice of an  
 “ excellent general, a chief of peculiar merit,  
 “ who flattered himself, that victory would

A. R. 397.  
 Ant. C. 555.

*Alliance  
 renewed  
 with the  
 Latines.*

*Gauls de-  
 feated by  
 the Dicta-  
 tor Sulpi-  
 cius.*

(a) Dictatori neutiquam placebat, quando nulla cogeret res, fortunæ se committere adversus hostem, quem tempus deteriore in dies & locus alienus faceret, sine præparato commeatu, sine firmo munimento manentem ; ad hoc iis animis corporibusque, quorum omnis in impetu vis esset, parvâ eadem languesceret morâ. *Liv.*

“ drop

A. R. 397. “ drop into his hands out of the sky, without  
 A. R. 335. “ his being at any trouble whatsoever.” They  
 held the same discourses afterwards in public,  
 and went still farther in declaring, “ That they  
 “ would fight without the Dictator’s orders, or  
 “ return one and all to Rome.” The Centuri-  
 ons joined the soldiers, and then they talked in  
 that manner no longer by small parties, but  
 loudly demanded in crouds around the general’s  
 tent, to have an audience of the Dictator; and  
 that Sex. Tullius should speak to him in their  
 name.

Septimūm  
 priusum  
 pilum du-  
 cebat. He was one of the bravest officers in the ar-  
 my, and then for the \* seventh time *Prinipilus*,  
 or principal captain of a legion, and had distin-  
 guished himself by a thousand glorious actions.  
 He could not refuse himself to the eagerness of  
 the troops, and went with them to the tribunal  
 of Sulpicius, who was much surprized at seeing  
 so great a multitude of soldiers, and still more  
 an officer at their head, who had distinguished  
 himself hitherto no less by his submission and  
 obedience, than by his valour. *The whole ar-  
 my, says he, addressing himself to the Dictator,  
 believing you condemn them for cowardice, and that  
 you keep them in a manner † disarmed by way of  
 punishment, have desired me to plead their cause be-  
 fore you. And certainly, though you could reproach  
 us with having done our duty ill upon some occa-  
 sion, with having fled before the enemy, with hav-  
 ing shamefully abandoned our colours, I should  
 however believe it reasonable to ask of you as a favour,*

\* In those days the Roman  
 legions and officers were dis-  
 banded every year at the end  
 of the campaign; and the next  
 a new levy of troops and cre-  
 ation of officers were made.

† He alludes to a kind of  
 punishment used at that time  
 amongst the soldiers, from  
 whom their arms were taken,  
 when they had failed in their  
 duty.

that you would permit us to repair our fault, and to wipe out the disgrace of it by some glorious action. A. R. 397.  
Anc. C. 355.  
The same legions who had been routed at Allia, by their courage soon after recovered Rome and their country, which their precipitate consternation had lost. As for us, thanks to the favour of the Gods, as well as to your own and the good fortune of the Roman people, the condition of our affairs and glory are yet whole and unblemished. Though indeed I can scarce say our glory is unsullied, whilst the enemy, who see us shut up in our camp like women, load us with reproaches and insults; and, what still affects us more sensibly, whilst yourself, our general, consider your army as having neither arms nor courage, and before you have put us to the trial, entirely despair of us, as if you had no soldiers but such as knew neither the use of their hands nor their swords. And indeed, for what other reason can we suppose, that a brave and experienced general as you are, should lie still here, with your arms a-cross, as they say, and doing nothing? For, however it be, it is more probable and more reasonable that you should doubt our courage, than we yours. But if the plan you solicit is not your own, but suggested to you; if this be not a war with the Gauls, but a contrivance, a conspiracy of the Senators, to keep us at a distance from our homes, our household-gods, I desire you to consider what I am going to take the liberty to say to you, as the discourse, not of soldiers to their general, but of the People, who have their interests to support as well as you yours, to the Senate. And who in effect can be offended, that we should consider ourselves as soldiers, not as your slaves; as sent to war, not into banishment: that we should demand that the signal be given for us to fight, as becomes men of courage and Romans? if not, let us rather lie still at Rome, than in camp. Luc.

A. R. 307  
Ann. C. 311. *is the discourse we should hold to the Senators. But here as dutiful soldiers we address our prayers to you as to our general, that you would give us permission to fight. We desire to conquer, but to conquer by your orders, to acquire you the glorious crown of victory, to enter Rome in triumph with you, and to follow you to the Capitol full of joy and glory to return solemn thanksgiving to great Jupiter.* The discourse of Tullius was followed by the prayers of the whole multitude, who surrounded the Dictator's tribunal, and all together demanded, that the signal should be given, and that they should be permitted to take arms.

Though the Dictator saw well, that this demand, good in itself, might be attended with pernicious consequences, he promised to comply with their request, and taking Tullius aside, expressed his surprize in respect to the commission, with which he had charged himself. Tullius began by desiring “ He would do him the  
“ justice to believe, that if he had acted in that  
“ manner, it was neither out of contempt of  
“ military discipline, forgetfulness of himself  
“ as a simple officer, nor want of the obedience  
“ which was due to his general. That the rea-  
“ son he had not refused himself to the incen-  
“ sed multitude, which generally follows the  
“ bent given them by their leaders, was lest  
“ they should make choice of some such person  
“ as they usually do in such commotions : that  
“ as for himself, he should always submit to  
“ his commands. But, that the Dictator ought  
“ not to believe, that it was easy for him to keep  
“ the army within bounds, and that the thing  
“ required his serious thoughts. That in the  
“ present ferment and emotion of the soldiers,  
“ all delays were dangerous ; and that it was  
“ more than probable, they would pitch upon

“ a time and place for a battle themselves, if A. R. 597.  
Ant. C. 555.  
“ the general refused to do it for them.”

Whilst they were talking to this effect, a Gaul happened to carry off some horses that were grazing without the works, and two Roman soldiers took them from him. Several Gauls pursued the latter with stones. Abundance of troops joined both sides, and a battle in form would have ensued, if the Centurions had not made the Romans retire. This event shewed the Dictator, how much truth there was in what Tullius had told him. The thing admitting no delay, he caused notice to be given the troops to prepare for battle the next day.

As the Dictator relied more upon their courage than number, he considered upon some stratagem, some address, for spreading terror amongst the enemy. Accordingly he hit upon one, which several generals have since used with success, and amongst others Marius in the battle against the Teutones. This was to take the packs off the mules, to leave each of them only two pieces of stuff on their backs hanging down on each side, and to make the servants of the army mount them in the armour taken from the enemy, and that of the sick. Almost a thousand were equipped in this manner, to whom an hundred horse were added, and in the night they were made to ascend the eminences above the camp, with orders to keep close in the woods, and not to quit them till a signal was given. After this shadow of terror was disposed thus, which did almost more service than effective and real forces, preparation was made for the battle. Sulpicius, at the break of day, began to extend his troops along the foot of the mountains, in order that the enemy might draw up in the front of them. The generals of the  
Gauls

A. R. 397.  
 Ant. C. 355.

Gauls believed at first, that the Romans would not advance into the open field ; but when they saw them in motion, as they ardently desired to come to blows, they also advanced, and the action began before the signal was given.

The Gauls charged the right wing with great vigour, and it could not have sustained their attack, if the Dictator had not been present to support it, who calling upon Sex. Tullius by his name, asked him with warm reproaches, “ Whether it was in that manner he had promised that his soldiers should fight ? what was become of the cries with which they demanded permission to take arms, and their threats to fight without waiting the generals orders ? *Here, added he, is your general, calling loudly upon you to give battle, and setting you the example, armed as you see him at the head of you. Where are these brave men, who were to lead me the way ? At least will they follow me ; bold in the camp, but timorous in action.* These reproaches were well founded : and accordingly they worked so strongly upon them, that insensible to danger, they threw themselves upon the enemy like madmen. This first attack began to make the Gauls give way, and the horse put them into disorder. The Dictator took that occasion to repair to his left wing, where he saw the enemy in great numbers behaving vigorously, and gave the signal agreed on for those on the eminences to appear. Immediately a new cry was heard, and new combatants shewed themselves, who seemed to march along the side of the mountain towards the camp of the Gauls. The latter upon that, through fear of having their communication cut off, gave over fighting, and retreated precipitately towards their camp. But finding Valerius the general of the  
 horse

horse there, who after the defeat of the left wing of the Gauls, had advanced with his squadrons to the enemies entrenchments, they turned their flight towards the mountains and forests, where they were received by the false cavalry, who made a great slaughter of them. No general since the great Camillus had triumphed with so just a title over the Gauls as Sulpicius. He also deposited in the Capitol, in the treasury built with great hewn stones, a very considerable quantity of gold, which was part of the spoils.

A. R. 397.  
Ant. C. 355.

The same year the Consuls marched against some of the neighbouring states, but with very different success. Plautius defeated and subjected the Hernici. Fabius his colleague engaged rashly in an action with the Tarquinienes. The loss in the battle was not considerable in itself; but it became so by the murder of three hundred prisoners, whom the Tarquinienes sacrificed to their revenge.

The Privernates and Viternei made also some incursions into the Roman territories.

Two new Tribes were added to the old ones, which made the number twenty-seven.

The games vowed by Camillus were now celebrated.

The same year a law was passed for the first time against canvassing elections, to check the ambition of the *New men*, that is to say of the Plebeians, who took abundance of pains to attain the Consulship. The substance of this law is not mentioned.

A. R. 598.  
Ant. C. 5. 4.

C. MARCIUS.  
CN. MANLIUS, II.

*Law that  
fixes the in-  
terest of  
money at  
one per  
cent.  
Liv. l. 7.  
c. 16.*

A law very agreeable to the People passed this year. It related to the interest of money lent, which it fixed at one *per cent. per annum*. This was called *unciarium fœnus*. Amongst the Romans *uncia* signified the twelfth part of any thing whatsoever. The interests of one *per cent. per month*, twelve *per cent. a year*, were called *centesimæ usuræ*. The *fœnus unciarium* was the twelfth part of the *usuræ centesimæ*, and consequently was one *per cent. a year*.

In this manner Gronovius, and most of the Learned, explain the *fœnus unciarium*, that is to say, *one per cent. per annum*; and the (a) Twelve Tables fixed lawful interest at that rate. How moderate so ever it was, it still was thought excessive, and ten years after, as we shall soon see, this interest was reduced one half. Interest was at last entirely prohibited. Indeed whatever care the magistrates took to put a stop to this disorder by wise ordinances, avarice, stronger than all laws, constantly found means either to escape their effect by cunning, or openly to force their feeble barriers. But the spirit of the law was clear; and unless they were wilfully blind, many of the Pagans were sensible of the wickedness of usury, and its contrariety to the Law of Nature. For from what other principle could the absolute prohibition of lending upon usury flow? The interest of one half *per*

(a) Primo duodecim Tabulis sanctum, ne quis unciario fœnore amplius exerceret, cum antea ex libidine locupletium agitaretur. Dein, rogatione Tribunitia ad semuncias reducta. Postremò vetita versura multisque plebiscitis obviam itum fraudibus, quæ totiens repressæ, miras per artes rursus oriebantur. *Tacit. Ann. l. 6. c. 16.*

*cent.*

cent. *semunciarium fœnus*, for instance, thirty pence for an hundred crowns, was it capable of ruining particulars? Paganism however strictly condemned it. (a) Cicero, and after him St. Ambrose, have preserved a memorable answer of \* Cato the Elder's. Upon being asked what he thought of usury, he replied with indignation; *What, why to commit murder.* These words contain a great deal. *You ask me*, said he, *what harm there is in lending at usury? And I ask you, what harm there is in killing a man?* The wisest politicians have considered it as the ruin of states; of which the Roman History supplies us with abundance of proofs. What then ought Christians to think of it, to whom God has expressly forbade it in an infinity of places in Holy Scripture. I shall repeat only one. *If thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him, yea though he be a stranger, or a sojourner, that he may live with thee. Take thou no usury of him, or increase, but fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase.* Lev. t. xxv. 35, &c. The rule here is most evident, against which all arguments are useless, to say no more. When the master speaks, and what master! all must be silent and obey.

The two wars made at this time against the Falisci and Privernates, were little considerable.

(a) A quo (Catone) cum quaereretur, quid maximè in re familiari expediret, respondit, *Bene pascere.*—Et cum ille qui quaesierat dixisset, *Quid fœnari?* Tum Cato: *Quid hominem, inquit, occidere?* Cic. Offic. l. 2. c. 39. Apud Ambros. de Tob. c. 14. \* What Plutarch tells us of the son Cato in his life, shows that he was not always so rigid in his practice with respect to usury.

A. R. 397.  
Ann. C. 354.  
*Law passed in the camp concerning the manumission of slaves.*

One of the two Consuls, Cn. Manlius, who was near Sutrium, having assembled his troops by Tribes, passed a law in the camp, a thing that had no example. This law related to the manumission of slaves, and ordained, that he who made one free, should pay the twentieth part of his value into the public treasury. The Senators confirmed this law, because it would bring a considerable revenue into the treasury, that was not rich: which shews that making slaves free was a common and frequent practice.

*Assembling the People out of the city.*

The Tribunes, less concerned about the law itself, than the consequences such an example might have, prohibited the assembling the People in that manner out of the city and the sight of the magistrates upon pain of death. And indeed there was no law, how pernicious soever it might be, which the soldiers, obliged by oath to obey the Consuls, might not be made to pass.

This custom of affranchising slaves shews, that the humanity and equity of masters were very great at Rome, as they were so much inclined to give those that pleased them their liberty, and were not prevented by losing the advantages made by an industrious and laborious servant. On another side, we cannot sufficiently admire the attention of the commonwealth to augment the number of its citizens, by giving the freedom of Rome to a slave as soon as his master had manumitted him.

*Stolo considered by his own law.*  
\* About 5500 sesterces.

The same year, at the prosecution of M. Popilius Lænas, C. Licinius Stolo was fined \* ten thousand *asses*, for possessing, contrary to the law passed by himself, a thousand acres of land, of which he held one half in his son's name, whom he had emancipated in order to elude that law.

M. FABIVS AMBUSTVS, II.

A. R. 399.  
Aet. C. 353.

M. POPILIVS LÆNAS, II.

The first of these Consuls was charged with the war against the Tiburtes, which had no considerable event. The other marched against the Falisci and Tarquinienses. The priests of the latter, charging in the battle with burning torches and a kind of \* serpents, of which they had imitated the figure with ribbands of different colours, spread confusion at first by that appearance of furies amongst the Roman troops. But upon the sharp raillery of the Consul and other officers, they soon recovered themselves from that vain terror, and made themselves full amends for the shame it had caused them by the defeat of the enemy, whose camp they plundered.

Liv. l. 7.  
c. 17.

A war with Hetruria ensuing, a Dictator was created, who then for the first time was elected out of the People. He was called C. Marcius Rutilus: and nominated C. Plautius general of the horse, who was also a Plebeian. This new creation exceedingly afflicted the Senate, who did their utmost to cross the expedition of a Plebeian Dictator. He set out from Rome, marched against the enemy, defeated them on several occasions, killed a considerable number of them, and took eight thousand prisoners. On his return to Rome, he triumphed by a decree of the People, in which the authority of the Senate had no part.

*Plebeian  
Dictator  
elected for  
the first  
time.*

\* *Anguibus prælatis.* Liv. c. 12. *Discoloribus serpentum*  
id est, ut scribit Florus de *in modum vittis.*  
*Fidenatibus agens.* Lib. 1.

A. R. 420.  
 A. C. 352.

C. SULPICIUS PÆTICUS, III.  
 M. VALERIUS PUBLICOLA.

Two Pa-  
 trician  
 Consuls.

Liv. l. 7.  
 c. 18.

These Consuls were not elected till after several *interregna*. They were both Patricians. The Plebeians had at this time been admitted to the Consulship eleven years.

Wars abroad gave the Romans little employment: but the disputes between the two orders of the state were very warm at home, especially when the assembly for the election of magistrates was to be held. The Consuls thought, that being both Patricians who had received the Consulship, it was not only an instance of address and courage, but an engagement of honour, for them to transmit it in like manner to two Patricians. They could not bear the division of it, and persuaded themselves, that it was necessary either to abandon it entirely to the People, or deprive them entirely of it. The Plebeians on their side, foaming with rage, exclaimed, “That they should be unworthy of  
 “living, and of the name of citizens, if all of  
 “them together could not preserve a privilege,  
 “which the courage of only two of them (Sextus and Licinius) had acquired. That it were  
 “better to bear the yoke of kings, than that of  
 “Decemvirs, or any other still more odious,  
 “than to suffer two Patricians in the Consul-  
 “ship together, and consent, that of the two  
 “orders of the State, which ought to divide au-  
 “thority between them, the one should always  
 “lord it in the government, and the other be  
 “condemned to eternal slavery.”

The Tribunes did not fail to blow up the flame of discord; but the minds of the People were so generally and so strongly heated already, that in the universal emotion, their chiefs  
 had

had no room to distinguish themselves. The assembly was held several times, and nothing concluded. The People at length, compelled to yield to the tenacious obstinacy of the Consuls retired in the greatest indignation, and followed their Tribunes, who cried out, that there was an end of liberty, and that it was necessary to quit not only the field of Mars, but the city too, reduced as they were to an infamous slavery under the despotic authority of the Patricians. The Consuls, abandoned by part of the People, did not fail to continue the assembly, as little numerous as it was, which nominated for Consuls

A. R. 400.  
Ant. C. 352.

M. FABIVS AMBUSTVS, III.

A. R. 401.  
Ant. C. 351.

T. QVINTIVS.

The two wars made this year, the one against the Tiburtes, and the other against the Tarquinienses, were successful. The latter sustained a bloody defeat. Amongst the prisoners, of whom the number was considerable, three hundred and fifty-eight of the principal were chosen out and sent to Rome; the rest were put to death. Rome did not treat those who had been reserved with less severity. By way of reprisals for the same number of Romans, who had been sacrificed at Tarquinii in the public place, they were scourged with rods, and then beheaded in the Forum at Rome.

*Revenge  
taken of the  
Tarquini-  
enses.*

The Romans now made an alliance with the Samnites, who sent to demand their amity.

The creditors continued to oppress their debtors in a cruel manner. This made the People, who were more affected with their own miseries than the honour of their order and the public interest, concern themselves little in respect to elections. Two Patrician Consuls were again chosen.

A. R. 472.  
A.U.C. 510.

C. SULPICIUS PÆTICUS, IV.

M. VALERIUS PUBLICOLA, II.

*The People  
found in the  
city of  
Cære.*

T. Manlius was created Dictator for a war against the city of Cære, which had assisted the Tarquinienſes in ravaging the territory of Rome. The declaration of war opened the eyes of the unfortunate Cærites, and made them ſenſible both of the wrong they had done, and their inability to oppoſe the Romans with open force. They therefore employed more effectual arms, in having recourſe to their clemency. “ After having confeſſed their crime, which  
“ they conſidered rather as the effect of blind  
“ and involuntary phrenzy, than of a reſolu-  
“ tion taken in cool blood, they put the Ro-  
“ man people in mind by their embaſſadors of  
“ the honour they formerly had of giving re-  
“ fuge to their fugitive Gods, and all the cere-  
“ monies of their religious worſhip, and con-  
“ jured them to ſpare a city, which had been  
“ for ſome time the depository of all that is  
“ moſt ſacred to the Romans, and which might  
“ be juſtly conſidered as the aſylum of their  
“ Priests and Veſtals, and in ſome meaſure as  
“ the temple and ſanctuary of Rome.” The People, more ſenſible to the ancient ſervices received from the city of Cære, than the late fault which it had committed, reſtored it to their favour, and made a truce of an hundred years with it.

The diſpute in reſpect to the Conſulſhip was revived again, and prevented the holding of aſſemblies, both ſides obſtinately reſuſing to give way. The Dictator abdicated, his time being expired, before any thing could be concluded. Eleven interregnums ſucceeded, which included the ſpace of fifty-five days. At laſt in the eleventh,

venth, the Senate consented, that the law *Licinia* should take place.

A. R. 402.  
Ant. C. 350.

P. VALERIUS PUBLICOLA.  
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.

A. R. 403.  
Ant. C. 349.

The last of these Consuls was a Plebeian. The reconciliation between the Senate and People being already much advanced, the two new Consuls applied themselves to terminating the affair of the debts, which was still some obstacle to it; and for that purpose nominated five \* commissioners, who were charged with that matter. The commission was neither easy nor agreeable; because in affairs of this kind one of the parties concerned is always dissatisfied, and often both. The commissioners on this occasion acted with all possible moderation and prudence. As most of the debtors delayed paying their debts, less through want of power, than negligence and defect of order in their affairs, the State made itself their creditors, and having caused tables to be prepared in the Forum with money, paid the debts, after having taken security for the sums advanced: or else having ordered the value of the houses and lands of the debtors to be justly stated, it adjudged them to their creditors. By this means, without doing injustice to any body, or giving any cause of complaint, a great number of debts were discharged.

*The Plebeians re-instated in the Consulship. Affair of the debts terminated.*

\* They were called *menfarii*, which is commonly translated bankers. But in this case they were persons invested with the public authority, and acting without interest.

## S E C T. II.

*Censor elected out of the People. War against the Gauls and the Pirates of Greece. Valerius kills a Gaul in single combat, and is surnamed Corvus. He is created Consul at twenty three years of age. The Pirates retire. Plague at Rome. Treaty with the Carthaginians. Interest reduced to half what it was before. Volsci, Antiates, and Aurunci defeated. Temple erected to Juno Moneta. The Romans, at the request of the inhabitants of Capua, turn their arms against the Samnites, new and formidable enemies. They gain a considerable victory over them under the command of the Consul Valerius. The other army, by the imprudence of the Consul Cornelius, is exposed to extreme danger, from which it is delivered by the valour and conduct of Decius, a legionary Tribune. The Samnites are entirely defeated. Valerius gains another battle.*

A. R. 474.  
A. M. C. 543.

Q. SULPICIUS POETICUS V.

T. QUINTIUS PENNUS.

THESE two Consuls were Patricians. In their Consulships a truce of forty years was granted to the Falisci and Tarquinienfes.

As the payment of debts had occasioned a great change in the fortunes of many, and abundance of houses and lands had been transferred to new possessors, it was thought proper to take the *Census*. The assembly being summoned for the election of Censors, Marcus Rutilus the Plebeian presented himself as a candidate for that office. He was the first that introduced the Dictatorship into the order of the

the People, and made it a point of honour to do the same in respect to the Censorship. He found great opposition from the Consuls, both Patricians, and very zealous for their order. But his merit superior to the highest offices of the State, and the extraordinary efforts of the People, carried it, and he was elected Censor with Cn. Manlius. That office from its institution, that is to say during fourscore and twelve years, had always remained in the hands of the Patricians.

A. R. 403.  
Ant.C. 343.

Festus (a) mentions a law proposed by the Tribune Ovinus, which empowered the Censors to create Senators, and to exclude them from the Senate, which power till then had vested in the Consuls and Military Tribunes. Festus is the only author who speaks of this law. He does not say, when it first took place; but it is conjectured to have been passed this year.

M. POPILLIUS LAENAS III.  
L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

A. R. 405.  
Ant.C. 347.

The People re-entered into possession of the Consulship, by electing M. Popillius Lænas.

A considerable victory gained by that Consul over the Gauls in a battle, wherein he received a wound, did him and the whole order of the People great honour, who granted him a triumph with great joy. They asked each other with inward complacency, whether there was any room to be dissatisfied with a Plebeian Consul.

The Consulship was however given the year following to two Patricians.

(a) Donec Ovinitia Tribunitia intervenit, qua sanctum est, ut Censores ex omni ordine optimum quemque curiatim è Senatu legerent. *Fest. in Præteriti Senatores.*

A. R. 475.  
 A. C. 345.

L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.  
 AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS.

War with  
 the Gauls,  
 and the  
 Greek Pi-  
 rates.

Rome had two kinds of enemies to repulse: the Gauls on one side who hardly ever left her at rest, and the Pirates of Greece on the other, who infested the coasts of Italy. But what occasioned most uneasiness, was the refusal of the Latines to furnish their contingent of troops according to the treaty with them, adding, that they thought it more advisable to fight for their own liberty, than to extend the dominion of strangers. Rome was therefore obliged to content herself with her own forces: and for that reason considerably augmented the number of the troops she usually kept on foot. Ten legions were raised, each consisting of four thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; which amounted in all to forty five thousand men. (a) Livy adds, that even in Augustus's time, when Rome was so powerful, it had been difficult to levy so numerous an army: that is to say to levy it immediately, *in totum exercitum*. For Rome, in the time of Augustus had under arms even in time of peace, twenty three or twenty five legions; but most of them dispersed in the different provinces of the empire. It must however be confessed, that there is some obscurity in Livy's expressions.

Find. 1  
 5.

The Consul Appius Claudius died during the preparations for war, of which the whole care fell entirely upon Camillus. It was thought

(a) Quem nunc novam  
 exercitum, à qua externa vis  
 ingruit, hæ vires populi Ro-  
 mani, quas vix terrarum cun-

pit orbis, contractæ in unum  
 haud facile efficiant. Liv.  
 7. l. 25.

inju-

injurious to his merit to subject him to the authority of a Dictator : besides which his name seemed a good omen for a war against the Gauls. He left two legions to guard the city, and divided the rest with the Prætor L. Pinaris, who was sent to defend the coasts against the incursions of the Pirates. He marched himself against the Gauls, and having advanced as far as the territory of Pomptinus, he encamped in an advantageous post, resolved not to come to a general battle, if not forced to it, and contenting himself with preventing the Gauls from plundering the country, by sending out great detachments on all sides for that purpose. He believed acting in that manner was a certain means to reduce an enemy, who not having laid up any provisions, could subsist his army only by pillage.

Whilst the troops on both sides lay still without acting, a Gaul remarkable for the greatness of his stature, and the splendor of his arms, advanced into the midst of the two armies, striking his shield with his lance. After having caused silence to be made, he challenged the bravest of the Romans to fight by an interpreter. Valerius, a young officer, who believed himself no less capable of the glory of such a victory than Manlius, accepted his challenge, and after having obtained the Consul's orders, advanced with a bold and intrepid air against the Gaul. The too distinguished favour of heaven, says Livy, something diminished the merit of his victory. If fame may be believed, which delights in adding the marvellous to great events, as soon as the Roman came to blows with his adversary, a crow on a sudden perched on his helmet, and kept its head always turned towards the Gaul. Valerius considering

A. R. 456.  
Ant. C. 246.

*Valerius  
kills a  
Gaul in  
single com-  
bat, and is  
surnamed  
Corvus.*

A. R. 406.  
A. C. 376.

considering this circumstance as a good omen, implored the god or goddess who sent it to be propitious. The crow not only kept its place, but during the whole combat, rose upon her wings, flew at the face and eyes of the Gaul with her beak and claws, and did not quit him, till terrified with a prodigy that deprived him both of the use of his eyes and of his presence of mind, Valerius laid him dead on the earth. The crow then, having discharged her commission, flew away towards the east, and disappeared.

The two armies till then had continued quiet. When Valerius was preparing to strip the enemy he had killed of his spoils, the Gauls continued no longer in their post, and the Romans flew to the aid of their brave officer. The action immediately began round the dead body of the Gaul, and soon became a general battle. Camillus exhorted his troops, already animated by the victory of Valerius, and the visible protection of the gods to charge the enemy, and shewing them the young victor covered with glorious spoils: *Go soldiers, said he, follow the example of your brave Tribune, and compleat what he has begun.* They obeyed, and the success was not long doubtful, so much did the fate of the two combatants seem to have decided before hand that of the two armies. The battle was warm and bloody between those who first came to blows round the dead Gaul: But from the rest the Romans found no resistance. Their enemies fled, without so much as having discharged their darts. At first they retired into the country of the Volsci and Falernum, from whence they removed into Apulia towards the Upper Sea. The Consul, having assembled the army, gave the young Tribune  
great

great praises, and made him a present of ten oxen and a crown of gold. This singular adventure procured him the surname of *Corvus*, *Crow*, which he transmitted to his posterity.

A. R. 406.  
Ant. C. 346.

The Senate having afterwards appointed Camillus to march against the Greek Pirates, he joined his troops with those of the Prætor. But as this war spun out in length, by order of the Senate he declared T. Manlius Torquatus Dictator, to preside in the election of Consuls. M. Valerius Corvus was chosen, though absent, and only twenty three years of age, which did not hinder the People from unanimously giving him their suffrages. The Dictator on his side was infinitely pleased to contribute to the glory of a young officer, who, treading in his steps, had signalized himself in the same kind of combat. Augustus long after, thought proper to honour the wonderful victory of this illustrious young Roman, and to consecrate the memory of it, by erecting a statue to him in the Forum, with a crow fluttering upon his head with expanded wings. M. Popillius Lænas was Corvus's colleague.

*Corvus is elected Consul at three and twenty.*

Aul. Gell.  
l. 9. c. 11.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

M. POPILLIUS LÆNAS IV.

A. R. 407.  
Ant. C. 345.

No memorable action passed in the war with the Greek Pirates, who knew no more how to fight by land, than the Romans by sea. Being repulsed from the coasts, and water as well as provisions beginning to fail them, they quitted Italy. It is not certainly known by what people this fleet was manned, nor from what part of Greece they came. Livy believes it had been equipped by the Tyrants of Sicily : for Greece properly so called was sufficiently employed

*The Pirates retire.*

A. R. 407.  
Ant. C. 575. ployed at this time in defending itself against the invasions of Philip of Macedon, Alexander the Great's father.

Plague at Rome. A plague that happened at Rome occasioned recourse to be had to the ceremony called *Lectisternium*.

The inhabitants of Antium settle a colony at Satricum, and rebuild that city which the Latines had destroyed.

Treaty with the Carthaginians. The Carthaginians having sent ambassadors to Rome to demand the amity and alliance of the Romans, a treaty was concluded with them. Livy does not mention a treaty above an hundred and fifty years prior to this, which was concluded with the Carthaginians the same year the kings were expelled. Polybius has preserved the tenor of it, as well as of that in question, which is the Second. The same author afterwards cites a third made at the time Pyrrhus came to Italy. I shall defer speaking of these treaties, till I come to the first Punic war.

A. R. 408.  
Ant. C. 574.

T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.  
C PLAUTIUS.

Interest of money reduced to half per Cent.

Ten years before the interest of money had been fixed at one *per cent. per annum*; *unciarium fœnus*: this year it was reduced to half that; *semunciarum fœnus*. Debtors had three years allowed them for discharging their debts at four different payments, of which one was to be made directly, and the three others from year to year. This was far from being an entire relief to the People, who still continued under an heavy load, and suffered much: but the Senate less sensible to the misery of particulars than to public credit, could not resolve to give it

so great a wound, as to declare debtors discharged from their debts. What gave the debtors some little relaxation, was that no levies were made, nor taxes exacted this year.

A. R. 408.  
Ant. C. 344.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS II:  
C. POETELIUS.

A. R. 409.  
Ant. C. 343.

The next year the Romans were beforehand with the Volsci and Antiates, who were preparing to invade their territory. They were defeated, the city of Satricum taken and burnt, and the spoils abandoned to the soldiers. More than four thousand prisoners were taken, who were led in triumph before the chariot of the Consul Valerius Corvus, and sold for the benefit of the public. Some authors believe that they were slaves.

*Volsci, Antiates and Aruunci defeated.*

M. FABIUS DORSO.  
SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.

A. R. 410.  
Ant. C. 342.

The Aurunci were soon after subjected, and the Volsci again defeated. A Temple was now erected to Juno, afterwards surnamed \* *Moneta*.

C. MARCIUS RUTILUS III.  
T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS II.

A. R. 411.  
Ant. C. 341.

A Dictator was declared for the expiation of certain prodigies.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS III:  
A. CORNELIUS CASSUS.

A. R. 412.  
Ant. C. 340.

From henceforth we shall treat of far more considerable wars than the preceding, whether

Liv. l. 6:  
29.

\* *Juno was called Moneta on account of having given satisfactory advice on a certain occasion.* *casum.* A monendo. *Cic. de Divin. l. 1 n. 101.*

A. R. 412.  
Ant C. 340.

in respect to the power and forces of the enemy, duration, or the remoteness of the places where they were made. Hitherto the Romans had to do with the Sabines, the part of Hetruria nearest Rome, the Latines, Hernici, Æqui, Volsci, and all the little States in the neighbourhood of Rome. This year they undertook a war with the Samnites, a potent and warlike People, who gave place neither in valour nor military discipline to the Romans, and like Rome, had vassals and allies attached to their fortune. Every body knows, what (a) Horace says of the young Samnites, accustomed early to the rudest fatigues, and the most supple obedience. After this war, in which the success was long equal, Pyrrhus appeared upon the stage, and after him the Carthaginians. During this interval (b) what a throng of great events arose, and how often did Rome see herself exposed to the most extreme dangers? These, says Livy, were in a manner the steps by which the empire attained to that height of power and greatness, of which we can scarce sustain the weight.

Eusebius, in his chronicle, mentions a *Census* which seems to agree with this year, wherein the number of the citizens amounted to an hundred and sixty thousand.

The Romans at the request of the Campanians take arms against the Samnites, new and formidable enemies.

The Samnites, with whom the Romans began then to measure their swords, inhabited very near the region of Italy now called Abruzzo. This war was excited by a foreign cause,

(a) Sed rusticorum mascula militum

Proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus

Versare glebas, & severæ  
Matris ad arbitrium re-  
cios

Portare fustes.

Hor. Od. 6. l. 3.

(b) Quanta rerum moles!  
Quoties in extrema pericula  
ventum, ut in hanc magni-  
tudinem, quæ vix sustinetur,  
erigi imperium posset! Liv.

for

for they were at that time the friends and allies of the Roman People. The Samnites having attacked the Sidicini for no other reason but because they were the strongest, the latter were reduced to have recourse to a more powerful people, and made an alliance with the Campanians, who lent them a great name, but were really of no great support to them, and took their defence upon them with more ostentation than strength. Enervated in sloth and luxury, they could not make head against the Samnites, enured and accustomed by an hard and laborious life to all the exercises of war, and having been defeated in a battle fought in the country of the Sidicini, they drew upon themselves the whole weight of the war. They were beat a second time not far from their capital in an action, wherein they lost the greatest part of their youth, so that they had no resource but to shut themselves up in their city Capua. But not believing themselves safe there, they applied to the Romans for aid.

Their ambassadors, on being introduced to the Senate, spoke to them in terms to the following effect. *If we came, Fathers, to demand your amity at a time when our city was in a more flourishing condition, you would perhaps grant it us more readily, but then you would perhaps have less reason to rely upon a lasting fidelity on our part: whereas delivered by your aid from enemies, who have sworn our destruction, we cannot but retain eternal gratitude for so important a service. We do not believe your union with the Samnites an obstacle to the grace we ask. For in making an alliance with them, you undoubtedly did not intend to tie up your hands, and deprive yourselves of the liberty of concluding any other treaty. Though it does not*

A. R. 412.  
A.D.C. 340.

*become us in our present condition, to speak advantageously of ourselves, we can say however, without setting too great a value upon what we are, that Capua giving place only to Rome either for the extent of its dominions or the fertility of the country dependant upon it, should you think fit to make an alliance with us, it might be of some, and no small, use to you. On the first motion of your eternal enemies, the Æqui and Volsci, our situation enables us to fall immediately upon their rear, and what you shall now be the first to act for our preservation, we shall always do from henceforth for the augmentation of your glory and empire. The confession we are reduced to make you, is a mournful one for us, but of indispensible necessity. We are upon the point of being forced either to fall into the dependance of our friends or of our enemies; of you, if you take upon you our defence; of the Samnites, if you abandon us. You are therefore to determine, whether Capua, and all Campania, shall augment your own, or the power of the Samnites. We speak here to a People, whom no fear deters from undertaking wars founded in justice. But on this occasion there will be no necessity for that. Shew only your arms, and the shadow of your aid, your name alone will be sufficient safety for us. Would to the Gods we were able to represent the mournful situation of Capua at this moment, whilst she expects with the most cruel anxiety the answer we are to bring back from you, which is to decide either her safety and liberty, or her slavery and destruction.*

The ambassadors, after this discourse, withdrew, and the Senate deliberated upon their demand. It seemed to deserve abundance of attention, and might be of great advantage to the State. Capua was the greatest and most opulent city, and its lands the most fertile, of all

all Italy. Its bordering upon the sea, which facilitated the importation of corn from it, might render it the magazine of Rome. Its alliance might contribute much towards the conquest of all the countries between Rome and Capua : all which motives should have had, one would think, great weight with an ambitious people, affecting to extend their dominions perpetually. Equity however and faith to their engagements prevailed, and made all those views of interest vanish, which are usually so powerful in the deliberations and councils of princes and republics, but which seemed to this wise and august assembly, base and unworthy of the Roman greatness. The Consul, having ordered the ambassadors to be called in, made them this answer in the name of that body. *The Senate, Campanians, are sorry for your present condition, and could wish it had power to assist you with honour : but justice will not admit us to make a new alliance with you, in violation of one more ancient. (a) We are united with the Samnites by a solemn treaty, and will not take arms against them, which would be still more criminal in the sight of the Gods than injurious to men. All that we can do for you on this occasion, is to employ our mediation with the Samnites, and to desire them by our deputies to desist from their hostilities against you.* We see here how much the faith of treaties was respected amongst the Romans, and that it was a constant principle amongst them, that no new alliance ought to contravene one of a more ancient date.

The ambassadors, in consternation at an answer that gave them up to the hatred and fury

(a) Samnites nobiscum fœdere juncti sunt. Itaque arma, deus prius, quam homines, violatura, adversus Samnites vobis negamus. *Liv.*

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A. U. C. 340.

of the Samnites, had recourse to another means, according to the powers they had received with their commission at setting out from home. *Since, said they, you will not take upon you the defence of our city and estates against the injustice and violence done us, you certainly will not be able to dispence with defending a city, when become part of your own dominions. We therefore from this moment, Romans, fully and entirely renounce and abandon to you the people of Campania and the city of Capua, with the lands, temples of the Gods, and in one word, whatever else they hold and possess. We acknowledge you for our Sovereigns. Thus whatsoever evils befall us from henceforth, will befall us as your subjects.* After this declaration, with abundance of tears they extended their hands towards the Consuls, and all prostrated themselves to the ground at the entrance of the Senate. This was a most moving sight. A rich and powerful people, distinguished till then by their pride and luxury, whose aid their neighbours a little before had implored, reduced to so low a degree of humiliation, as to deliver up themselves and all they have to aliens and strangers. The Senate believed that justice and public faith would now not admit them to betray and abandon a people, who surrendered themselves without reserve to the Romans; and that the Samnites would act contrary to equity, if they continued to attack a city and country, which they should be informed, belonged to the Romans as their right, from the cession made of it to them by the Campanians.

Ambassadors therefore were immediately sent to the Samnites, “ to represent to them the supplication and request of the inhabitants of Capua, the answer made at first by the Senate, which clearly evidenced their regard  
“ for

“ for the amity of the Samnites, and lastly the  
 “ cession made to Rome by the Campanians of  
 “ their city and all they possessed. They had  
 “ orders to demand of the Samnites, that in  
 “ consequence of their amity and alliance with  
 “ Rome, they should desist from attacking a  
 “ country, which from thenceforth was become  
 “ the domain of the Roman people ; and, if  
 “ these amicable methods did not succeed, they  
 “ were directed to declare in express terms to  
 “ the Samnites in the name of the Senate and  
 “ People of Rome, that they must not approach  
 “ Capua, nor set foot on the lands in its de-  
 “ pendance.” When this declaration was made  
 to the Samnites in full assembly, it put them  
 into such a fury, that they not only answered,  
 they would continue the war they had began ;  
 but their magistrates, on the breaking up of the  
 council, ordered the generals and officers of the  
 army to attend them, and in the presence of the  
 ambassadors, with a loud voice, commanded  
 them to set out immediately, and to ravage  
 and destroy the country of Capua with fire and  
 sword,

Upon this answer the Senate, with the Peo-  
 ple’s authority, sent the heralds to the Samnites,  
 to demand satisfaction on account of so violent  
 a proceeding, and, on their refusal, those offi-  
 cers declared war against them in all the forms.  
 The two Consuls had orders to take the field  
 immediately. Valerius marched into Campa-  
 nia, and Cornelius for Samnium. The first  
 encamped near mount Gaurus, and the other  
 near Saticula.

The legions of the Samnites marched against  
 Valerius : they were of opinion, that the weight  
 of the war would fall on that side ; besides  
 which they were animated by rage and revenge

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*The Ro-  
 mans gain  
 a consid-  
 erable vic-  
 tory over  
 the Sam-  
 nites under  
 the com-  
 mand of  
 the Consul  
 Valerius.*

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against the Campanians, who had been equally ready to give aid themselves, and to call it in against them. At the first sight of the Roman camp, their leaders, full of boldness, desired earnestly to come to a battle, assuring themselves that the Romans would have the same success in aiding the Campanians, as the latter had in aiding the Sidicini. Valerius, after having let some days pass in skirmishes to try the enemy, gave the signal for battle, and exhorted his troops in few words. He represented to them, “ That  
 “ they ought not be daunted by this new war  
 “ and new enemy. That the farther they re-  
 “ moved from Rome, the weaker and less war-  
 “ like they would find their enemies. That  
 “ the courage of the Samnites was not to be  
 “ judged from their defeating the Sidicini and  
 “ Campanians. That the latter had been over-  
 “ come more by their own softness and luxury,  
 “ than by the forces of their enemies. Could  
 “ two successes of the Samnites during so many  
 “ ages be looked upon as any thing, when  
 “ compared with the many glorious exploits of  
 “ the Romans, who, since the foundation of  
 “ Rome, reckoned almost more triumphs than  
 “ years ; who had subdued all around them in  
 “ arms, Sabines, Hetrurians, Latines, Herni-  
 “ ci, Volsci, Æqui, and Aurunci ; who had so  
 “ often defeated the Gauls in pitched battles ;  
 “ and lastly, had repulsed the Greek pirates  
 “ from their coasts with so much courage and  
 “ success. That in advancing to battle, each  
 “ of them in particular should carry with him  
 “ the just confidence with which their bravery,  
 “ experienced on so many occasions, and past  
 “ great actions, ought to inspire them : but that  
 “ they ought also to remember under the auspi-  
 “ ces of what general they fought.” *Soldiers,*  
 continued

continued he, *it is not my words, but my actions, that I would have you follow. It is not to the cabals of the Patricians, but to this arm, that I am indebted for three Consulships, and the glory to which I have attained. There was a time, when it might have been said, What wonder is that? You are a Patrician, and descended from the Deliverers of our country, and the Consulship was in your family the same year that this city began to have Consuls. The Consulship is now equally open to both orders, to the Plebeians as well as Patricians. It is no longer the fruit of birth, but of merit. You ought, soldiers, to raise your views to the first dignities. The new sir-name of Corvus, which you have given me in a manner by the order of the Gods themselves, has not made me forget the ancient sir-name of Publicola attached to my family. I have always sustained the honour and duties of it. In peace and war, a private person or in the highest offices of the state, I have always adhered to the People, and shall do so during my life. You are now to march with me, under the protection of the Gods, against the Samnites, to merit a triumph entirely new, of which you are to have the first fruits.*

(a) Never was general more familiar with his soldiers than Valerius : he made no difficulty to divide all the labours and military employments with them. In the games, wherein the troops contended man to man for the prizes of swiftness

(a) Non alius militi dux familiarior fuit, omnia inter infimos militum haud gravatè munia obeundo. In ludo præterea militari, cum velocitatis viriumque inter se æquales certamina ineunt, comiter facilis, vincere ac vincivult eodem ; nec quemquam

aspernari parem, qui se offerret : factis benignus pro re, dictis haud minus libertatis alienæ quam suæ dignitatis memor : & quo nihil popularius est, quibus artibus petierat magistratus, iisdem gerebat. Liv.

A. R. 412.  
Ant. C. 340.

in running and strength of body, he accepted with surprizing easiness and popularity the challenge of the first comer, and knew how to conquer or be overcome with the same air. He was liberal and beneficent, but bestowed his favours with judgment. He was attentive in his discourse not to injure the liberty of others, and was no less so to support his own dignity ; and he perfectly possessed the art of descending without demeaning himself. In a word, in the exercise of the first offices of the state he retained the virtues by which he had deserved them ; a conduct infinitely agreeable to the multitude, and very uncommon with those who attain great dignities.

It is easy to judge how much impression the discourse of such a person must make upon the troops. It was received with universal applause. The army, full of spirit and ardor, marched out of the camp to battle. The hopes and forces were equal on both sides. Both were full of confidence in themselves, without despising the enemy. Their late almost still recent successes, the two important victories gained by the Samnites, augmented their courage extremely : but a glory of four hundred years, and as ancient as Rome itself, inspired the Romans with another kind of resolution. What gave both some disquiet, was their having a new, and hitherto mutually unknown, enemy to engage with. The battle shewed their dispositions effectually. It was long doubtful, the victory inclining neither to one side nor the other. The Consul, seeing that notwithstanding all his endeavours he could not break the enemy, made the cavalry advance to put them into disorder, which had no better success, the place being too narrow for their evolutions. Valerius then leaping from his horse ;

horse ; *Soldiers*, said he to the foot, *this battle regards me : Come on. I am going to open you a way into those troops where you see the lances so thick.* The horse at the same time having wheeled off by his order to the two wings, he advanced to the enemy, and killed the first he met. The soldiers, animated by seeing their general confront dangers in that manner, made extraordinary efforts. The Samnites did the same on their side, and maintained their ground without giving way, though they had more wounded than the Romans. The battle had already continued for some time, and the slaughter was very great in the foremost ranks of the Samnites, but they continued in their post without thinking of flight, so firmly had they resolved not to be conquered, and to yield only to death. The Romans therefore, perceiving their strength decline through fatigue, and that night approached, actuated by anger and the desire of conquering, made a last effort, and threw themselves headlong upon the enemy. The ranks of the Samnites began then to be in disorder, and they retired ; soon after which they fled with precipitation. Great numbers of them were either killed or made prisoners, and few had escaped, if night had not put an end rather to the victory than the battle. The Romans confessed, that they had never engaged so obstinate an enemy before : and the Samnites on their side, when they were asked what was the first cause that had occasioned their flight, notwithstanding their ardor for the battle, answered, that seeing the eyes of the Romans sparkling with fire, and their whole visage enflamed with rage and a kind of fury, they could not sustain their terrible looks. Their terror appeared not only in the success of the battle, but in their precipitate

A. R. 412.  
Liv. C. 34.

retreat in the night without carrying off any thing with them. The Romans, finding their camp abandoned the next morning, took considerable spoils in it; and the Campanians repaired thither in a body, to express their gratitude to the victor.

*The other army by the imprudence of the Consul Cornelius is exposed to extreme danger; from which the valour of Decius the Tribune happily delivers it. The Samnites are entirely defeated.*  
Liv. l. 7.  
C. 34—35.

The joy for this victory was soon after interrupted by the extreme danger to which the other army was exposed. The Consul Cornelius, having marched from Saticula, imprudently entered a forest that had no way into it but through a deep valley, without having used the precaution of sending a detachment before him to view the places and learn news of the enemy. He did not perceive, that they had seized the eminences, and were over his head, till he was too far advanced to retire. The Samnites delaying to attack him only till his whole army was engaged in the valley, P. Decius, Tribune of the soldiers, perceived an hill in the forest, which commanded the enemy's camp. The access to it was very difficult to a body of troops laden with baggage, but easy to soldiers who carried only their arms. That officer finding the Consul in the utmost perplexity: *Do you see, said he, that eminence which is above the enemy, and which they have not taken care to seize? Our preservation depends upon posting ourselves there. For that purpose, I ask only the \* Principes and Hastati of one legion. When I have gained the summit of that hill, pursue your march without fear, assured of preserving yourself and your army. The enemy, exposed to our darts, cannot move without exposing themselves to the danger of being cut to pieces. As for us, either the good fortune of the*

\* The Principes and Hastati amounted in all to two thousand four hundred men.

*Roman people, or our own valour, will bring us off.* The Consul having praised him highly, gave him the detachment he asked, with which he crossed the forest, without being perceived by the enemy, till he was just upon the spot he was marching to seize. The Samnites were in a great surprize; and whilst their eyes were entirely fixed upon Decius and his troops, they gave the Consul time to march his army to a place of safety. As for Decius, he halted upon the top of the hill.

Whilst the Samnites, in their uncertainty and suspense, deliberated upon the conduct they should observe, they put it out of their power to act, not being able either to pursue the Consul without entering into the same defile through which he had passed with so much danger, or making the troops climb the eminence which Decius had seized. They determined however upon the latter, through the desire of avenging themselves upon those who had deprived them of so fair an occasion, induced to it also by the proximity of their post, and the small number of troops of which that detachment consisted. They therefore thought one while of surrounding the hill with troops on all sides, to prevent their rejoining the Consul; and another, of leaving the passage open in order to attack them in their descent. Whilst they were in suspense, and fluctuating between the two opinions, the night came on. Decius conceived at first, that they would have attacked him, and prepared to give them a warm reception from the higher ground where he was posted. He was much surprized afterwards, when he saw, that they did not resolve either to charge him, or at least, if the disadvantage of the place discouraged them, to surround him with intrenchments in  
order

A. R. 412.  
Ann. C. 342.

A. R. 412.  
AEL. C. 342.

order to deprive him of all hopes of escaping. Having assembled the Centurions: *We are very fortunate, comrades,* said he, *to have to do with enemies, who are absolutely ignorant of the rules of war, and of inconceivable slowness and neglect. Whilst they have been consulting, and making so many irregular and uncertain movements, they might have surrounded us with intrenchments on all sides. But that seems the least of their thoughts. We should resemble them, if we continued longer here than were necessary. Follow me then, and whilst some light remains, let us observe where they post their guards, and by what way we shall get off from hence.* This they did immediately, in the habit of private soldiers, to avoid being suspected and known by the enemy.

He afterwards planted the sentinels, and sent orders to the soldiers to come to him, in silence and armed, at the second watch of the night: that was the space of three hours from sun-set to midnight. When they repaired to him in consequence, he spoke to them as follows: *You must keep the same silence, soldiers, whilst I am speaking to you, as you did in coming hither. When I have told you what I have to say, let those who approve it go to the right without making any noise: the opinion of the majority shall determine us. I come now to my thoughts. That the enemy keep you here surrounded, is neither owing to your want of courage nor slowness to act. Your valour brought you hither: your valour must find you the means of departing from hence. In coming to this hill, you have saved the army of the Roman people: now save yourselves in retiring from this place. We have an enemy to deal with, who may truly be said to be blind, and who having it yesterday in his power to ruin our whole army in the defile it had entered, and either to prevent us from posting our-*  
selves

*selves upon this eminence, or to shut us up within good works upon it, has neither seen nor done any thing of all this. After having deceived them in this manner in day-light, and with their eyes open, it is necessary now for you to deceive them again whilst they sleep. I say necessary : for as we have nothing here but our arms and our courage, and must perish with hunger and thirst if we continue, it is absolutely necessary to remove from hence. The question only is, whether we shall do so by night or by day. And this seems to me a matter that requires still less deliberation. For if we stay till day, who knows but the enemy, whom you see dispersed quite round our hill, may inclose it within fossés and intrenchments. And if only the night be the proper time for the execution of our design, which is incontestable, the present hour is the most favourable we can chuse, because that at which men are heaviest with sleep. As then you will find all the enemy's soldiers asleep, you will either pass through them without being perceived, or, if they wake, you may put them into a consternation by raising great cries on a sudden. After having followed me to this place, now follow me from hence. As for me, I abandon myself to the same fortune that brought us hither. Let those who approve my opinion go to the right.*

All did so to a man, and followed Decius where the enemy had not posted sentinels. They had passed half their camp, when a soldier happening to clash his arms against the shield of a sentinel that lay asleep, the latter awoke, and gave others the alarm. They did not know whether they were friends or enemies : whether they were the detachment come down from the hill ; or the Consul, who had made himself master of the camp. Decius that moment made his troops raise great cries. The Samnites, still half asleep,  
and

A. R. 412.  
Act. C 340.

and seized with terror, could neither take arms readily, oppose the passage of the Romans, nor pursue them. The latter, taking advantage of that confusion, kept going forwards, and killed all that came in their way. When they were out of danger, as it was not far from day, Decius made his troops halt, and said to them, *Your valour, soldiers, is worthy of admiration. All eyes will applaud this bold and happy enterprise. But it is not fit that night should cover so glorious a return with darkness and obscurity. Let us stay here till day, that the Sun may witness your triumphant entrance into the camp.* He was obeyed.

As soon as it was day, they marched on, after having dispatched a courier to the Consul. The news of their return having spread in the camp, occasioned incredible joy, and the troops in emulation of each other went out to meet those generous and intrepid soldiers, who had exposed themselves to certain danger for their preservation. They praised and congratulated them, calling them all in general, and every one in particular their preservers, their deliverers. They returned thanks to the gods for so manifest, so distinguished a protection : and as for Decius, they extolled him to the skies. This was a day of triumph to him. He marched through the camp with his victorious troops in the midst of the highest applauses of the whole army, who had their eyes fixed on him alone, and by the titles of honour, which they contended with each other in giving him, equalled the Tribune in all things with the Consul. The Consul had already called the assembly, and was beginning to give Decius the praises he so justly deserved, when the latter interrupted him, and represented, that there was

no time to lose, and that the moments were precious. He induced him therefore to make the troops march directly against the enemy, who had not yet recovered their consternation in the night, were dispersed in disorder around the hill, and of whom he believed many sent in pursuit of him, were still straggling up and down in the forest. The legions set out immediately, and came up with the enemy, whom they attacked when they least expected it. Most of their troops dispersed on all sides, could neither unite in one body, nor take arms, nor retire into their intrenchments. The legions pursued them in their camp, which they took. All they found in it were put to the sword, to the number of thirty thousand.

A. R. 412.  
Ant C. 340.

The Consul having then no other care upon his hands, called an assembly the second time, and did the justice which was due to the generous enterprize of Decius, the glory of which the last action had infinitely augmented. Besides other military presents, he gave him a crown of gold, an hundred oxen, and a white one with gilt horns. To each of his soldiers, he gave a double allowance of corn for ever, with an ax and two habits for the present. After the Consul had distributed his rewards, the legions placed the crown *obsidionalis* on the head of Decius: this was a mark of acknowledgment given by the soldiers to the officer who extricated them out of any dangerous post, wherein they had been invested by the enemy: it was composed of turf. The soldiers of his detachment gave him another of the same kind. Decius sacrificed the ox with the gilt horns to Mars; and gave the other hundred to the soldiers who had followed him in this action. The legions made each of the same soldiers a pre-

A. F. 412.  
A. M. C. 541.

Plut. Luc.  
Liv. 1. 7.  
C. 17.

sent of a pound of flour, and a \* *Sextarius* of wine. All these military presents were attended with the cries and acclamations of the army, undoubted proofs of its sincere and universal joy.

A third battle was fought with the same people. The Samnites whom Valerius had put to flight in the first battle, having drawn all their youth together, resolved to make a last effort, and assembled near Sueffula. The inhabitants of that place sent immediate advice of their motions to Valerius, imploring his aid. He immediately set out without baggage, leaving a strong guard for the defence of his camp in case of attack, approached the enemy, and encamped upon a ground of moderate extent not far from them. The Samnites at first offered him battle, but seeing that he did not move, they advanced to insult his camp. Judging of the number of his troops from the small extent of his camp their ardour augmented, and they demanded permission of their officers to force it. The war would have been determined by that rash enterprize, if their Chiefs had not checked their impetuosity. As they began to want provisions, part of their troops dispersed about the country to forage, whilst fear, as they imagined, kept the Romans shut up in their camp. They even flattered themselves, that the latter would soon be reduced by famine, having only the provisions they had brought with them upon their shoulders. When the Consul saw the enemy dispersed on all sides in the country, with few troops to sustain them; after having animated his troops by a short exhortation, he led them on against the enemy's camp, and

(a) The *Sextarius* was the sixth part of a *Congius*, a little more than the English pint.

made himself master of it at the first attack. Great numbers of them were killed, and more in their tents than at the gates of the camp and on the works. Having caused all the ensigns he had taken to be laid together, and left a considerable body of troops to guard the camp he had just seized, with express orders not to touch the spoils till his return, he marched in good order against the Samnites dispersed about the country, whom he had first taken care to make his cavalry surround, in order to drive them like beasts into a net, so that they could not escape him. The slaughter in effect was very great, because they neither knew whether to draw up in a body, retire to their camp, or fly some other way. Forty thousand shields were taken; not that the number of the dead was so great, but because the alarm and flight had been general; and the colours, including those already taken in the camp, amounted to an hundred and seventy. When this expedition was over, the Consul returned to the enemy's camp, and the whole booty was abandoned to the soldiers.

The good success of this campaign against the Samnites put a stop to the bad designs of some of the States in the neighbourhood of Rome who meditated war. The report of it spread as far as Carthage, who sent ambassadors to congratulate the Romans upon it, with a crown of gold weighing twenty-five pounds, to be placed in the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol.

The two Consuls triumphed over the Samnites. Decius followed their chariot, carrying the rewards with which his valour had been honoured: and the soldiers, in their songs, wherein the military freedom prevailed, gave the Tribune equal praises with the two Consuls.

S E C T. III.

*The Roman soldiers sent into winter quarters at Capua, form a conspiracy against the inhabitants. It is discovered. They revolt against the Commonwealth itself. Valerius Corvus the Dictator appeases the sedition. The Samnites demand peace. The Latines haughtily require the Romans to consent, that one of the two Consuls shall be elected out of their nation. War is declared against them. Dream of the two Consuls. Manlius Torquatus puts his son to death for having fought contrary to his orders. Decius, the other Consul, devotes himself for the army, which gains a famous victory over the Latines. Reflections upon the action of Torquatus. The war continued against the Latines. Three laws made against the Senate are passed. All the Latin States are conquered and entirely subjected to the Romans. A Vestal is condemned. The Prætorship conferred upon a Plebeian. Roman ladies convicted of poisoning, and punished.*

A. D. 412.  
A. M. C. 342.

**T**HE deputies of Capua and Sueffula applied to the Roman People, and earnestly solicited them, that they would send garrisons to quarter amongst them during the winter, in order to defend them against the Samnites, who made frequent incursions into their country, and ravaged their lands. This favour, which they had no trouble to obtain, was very near proving fatal to them. The Romans on one side, accustomed to an hard and sober life, did not know how pernicious a city plunged in voluptuousness might be to their manners: and the Campanians, on the other, were no less ignorant

ignorant of the dangers of admitting a foreign garrison. Both people soon made a sad experience of these things.

A. R. 412.  
Ant. C. 342.

(a) Capua, whose excessive luxury even in those days was highly capable of corrupting military discipline, soon softened the soldiers Rome had sent thither, by the delicious living and pleasures with which he supplied them in abundance, and made them absolutely forget their own country. During their winter quarters, they concerted measures for depriving the Campanians of their city by the same \* crime, as themselves had formerly taken it from its ancient inhabitants, and made use of their own example against them. The Roman soldiers conceived their design founded in reason. *For, said they, is it reasonable, that the Campanians, who are incapable of defending their persons and estates themselves, should possess the most fertile country of Italy, and inhabit so fine a city, in preference to a victorious army, who at the price of their sweat and blood have driven out the Samnites?* In consequence they formed the barbarous design of massacring the inhabitants of Capua, and of establishing themselves in their room.

*The soldiers sent into winter quarters to Capua, form a conspiracy against the inhabitants.*

Liv. l. 7.  
c. 38-42.  
\* See V. II.  
A. R. 332.

C. MARCIUS RUTILUS IV.

A. R. 412.  
Ant. C. 339.

Q. SERVILIUS.

The conspiracy could not be kept so secret, but that the principal magistrates had intelligence of it. The province of Campania had fallen by lot to Marcius. He was a man of ability and experience, was now Consul for the fourth time, and had been Dictator and Censor.

*The conspiracy being discovered, the soldiers revolt against the Commonwealth itself. The*

(a) Jam tum minimè salubris militari disciplinæ Capua, instrumento omnium voluptatum delinitos militum animos avertit à memoria patriæ.

*Dictator Valerius appeases the sedition.*

A. R. 413  
Ant. C. 339.

Having been apprized on his arrival, of all the projects that had been formed, he thought it necessary to elude them by address and without noise. The first means that he used was to spread a report, that the troops should continue the following year in the same winter quarters ; for they were cantoned into different towns, but had all entered into the conspiracy and acted in concert. He thereby gave them room to believe, that they would have sufficient time for accomplishing their design, and wisely retarded the execution of it. The conspiracy in consequence was not carried on with so much vivacity, and slackened much in its heat for the present.

When the Consul took the field with the army, whilst the Samnites remained quiet, he made it his business to disperse the principal conspirators on all sides under different pretexts. He sent away whole companies that he suspected, and permitted them to return to Rome by way of favour, and to give them the satisfaction of seeing their families. The conspirators at first suspected nothing, and took the benefit of the General's indulgence with joy. But afterwards, putting different circumstances together, they were particularly struck with the great number, that had obtained leave to be absent so easily, of whom the major part were such, as had declared themselves most for the conspiracy ; and thence proceeding to reflect seriously upon the Consul's conduct, they rightly suspected the mystery of it. They were then seized with terror. They apprehended, that they should be made victims to the inexorable revenge of the Senate, and resolved to take measures for their own security.

A Cohort, that is to say a body of about five hundred men, instead of going to Rome, halted in a \* narrow pass, in order to receive those whom the Consul dismissed every day. A great body of troops were soon formed in this place, and wanted only a general to form a complete army. A man of great reputation was necessary for that office, and they had no such person amongst them. They could not think of bringing one from Rome. For what Patrician or Plebeian would accept of so dangerous a commission? In this exceeding perplexity they were informed, that at a country house not far off, actually resided an illustrious Patrician, named T. Quintius, who had formerly distinguished himself in war, but had been obliged by his wounds to quit the service, and passed his time, remote from trouble and ambition, in the tranquillity of a country life. They did not imagine, that they should be able to engage a man of that character to accept their offer voluntarily. They therefore went in the night to seize his person; and having declared to him that he must either resolve to accept the command, or die, they forced him to put himself at their head: after which they marched directly for Rome.

They were within eight miles of it, when they were informed that an army was advancing to meet them, under the command of M. Valerius Corvus, who had been created Dictator upon the news of this revolt, and the year before had commanded the same rebellious troops in quality of Consul. As soon as they came in view of the other army, and discovered the Roman arms and eagles, that fight followed

\* *Lautula, a place between the Sea and the Mountains.*

A. R. 413.  
A. U. C. 539.

them, and the love of their country resuming its place in their hearts, their fury grew calm in an instant. (a) They had not yet acquired the barbarous courage to shed the blood of their citizens; they knew no wars but with strangers, and believed a separation from their country the last excess of frenzy. The leaders and soldiers on both sides in consequence fought only to approach each other. The two Generals had an interview at the head of their armies with very pacific dispositions. Quintius averse to carrying arms even for his country, was far from being willing to employ them against it. Corvus loved his whole country passionately, and in particular the troops, but especially the old soldiers.

As soon as Corvus appeared, and the mutineers saw him, they expressed the highest respect for him, whilst his own troops kept a profound silence. *Soldiers, says Corvus, in setting out from Rome, I implored the immortal gods, the gods of our country, your gods as well as mine, that I might return from hence with the glory, not of having conquered, but of having reconciled you. I have had, and shall still have sufficient occasions, of acquiring glory in war: here all I seek is peace. What I asked of the gods in the prayers I made to them, you, soldiers, can make me obtain, if you will only remember, that you are not incamped in the country of the Samnites and Volsci, but in the territory of Rome: that these hills, which you see, are the hills of your country: that this army in front of you, is composed of your fellow citizens: and that I am your Consul, under whom last year you twice de-*

(a) Nonnulli erant tum bello, utrimaque rabies secesserat, et sanguinem civium, sed ab his habebatur. Liv. 2. 10. p. 101. externa loquerantur

*feated the legions of the Samnites, and as often took  
 their camp. Yes, Soldiers, I am M. Valerius Cor-  
 vus, who never took any advantage of illustrious birth  
 but to do you the greatest services, and never any  
 wrong: who am not the author of any rigorous  
 law, of any decree of the Senate, of which you  
 can complain: and who in all the commands I  
 have had, have ever been more severe to myself  
 than to you. If birth, valour, and dignities could  
 inspire any one with pride and haughtiness, I was  
 of a family, had given proofs of bravery, and  
 had attained the first office of the State at an age,  
 when I might, being Consul at three and twenty,  
 have made not only the People, but the Senate fear  
 me. During this first Consulship, did I either act,  
 or speak, in any other manner, than when I  
 was only tribune of a legion? I retained the  
 same moderation in my two following Consulships,  
 and am still determined to do so in this high office  
 of Dictator, with which it has been thought pro-  
 per to invest me, and not to treat those soldiers,  
 who are mine and their countries, with more le-  
 nity and indulgence, than you, who, I speak it with  
 horror, are its enemies. You therefore shall draw  
 the sword against me, before I draw it against  
 you: If we must fight, the trumpet shall first  
 sound the charge, and the cry of battle and at-  
 tack begin first, on your side. After some other re-  
 flections, he addressed himself to the general  
 of the mutineers thus: T. Quintius, however  
 you happen to be here, whether out of choice, or  
 in effect of force, if we must come to blows, do  
 you retire into the rear. It will be more ho-  
 nourable for you even to fly before your country, than  
 to fight against it. Now the question is to ne-  
 gotiate peace, it becomes you to appear in the  
 front, and to make yourself the mediator of an ac-  
 commodation. As for you, soldiers, propose equi-  
 table*

A. R. 413.  
 Ant. C. 339.

A. R. 417.  
Aet. C. 559 *table conditions to us : though, however that be, it were better for us to submit to the most unjust, than to imbrue our hands in blood which ought to be sacred to us.*

Quintius spoke with tears almost to the same effect to his troops. *Soldiers, said he, if I can be of any use to you, it is also rather in respect to peace than war. It is neither a Volscian, nor a Samnite, who has just spoke to you ; but a Roman, your Consul, your general. You have experienced his good fortune in command. Do not expose yourselves to making proof of it against you. The Senate might have commissioned generals to march against you, who would have been more willing to proceed to fatal extremities : but they have made choice of one who might be most inclined to spare you as his soldiers, and in whom you could place most confidence as your general. Those who are capable of conquering desire peace. Let us then renounce those deceitful and pernicious counsellors, rage and hope, and more wisely abandon ourselves without reserve to a goodness and fidelity too well known to be suspected.*

This advice being generally approved, Quintius returned to the Dictator, declared to him that the troops put themselves in his hands, and earnestly besought him to make himself their advocate and defender with the Senate and People. He added, “ That as to what concerned himself, he had no precautions to take ; and that he relied upon his innocence : but that as to the soldiers, it would be proper to do for them what was formerly done for the People, when they retired to the Sacred Mountain, and afterwards for the army in the time of the Decemviri ; that is to say, to decree that what was past should not be imputed as a crime to the soldiers, and that  
“ they

“ they should never be molested on that ac-  
 “ count.”

A. R. 413.  
 Ant.C. 359.

The Dictator, after having praised Quintius as he deserved, and given great hopes to the rest, returned immediately to Rome. He had no trouble in obtaining pardon for the criminals, their great number making impunity almost necessary. Having assembled the People, with the approbation of the Senate he proposed and passed a decree in the assembly, that no one should be molested for having separated from the army, and formed a party. He also asked as a favour of the Romans, that no reproaches, either in jest or earnest, should be cast upon any of them.

At the same time a military law was passed, to prohibit striking the name of a soldier off the list without his consent. The same law declared, that whoever had been Tribune of a legion, should be incapable of being a Centurion afterwards. The conspirators demanded this article on account of P. Salinius, who was almost always alternately, one year a Tribune, and the next first Centurion, called afterwards *Primipilus*. The soldiers had a grudge against him, because he had always opposed their plot, and to avoid having any share in it, had retired from Lautula. As the Senate rejected this article out of regard for him, he desired that they would comply with it for the sake of peace ; which was granted.

Another no less violent demand of the same soldiers was to reduce the pay of the horse, which was thrice as much as that of the infantry. They were angry with the cavalry for having always opposed their conspiracy.

Livy mentions several other laws which they obtained, but without any certainty ; and even  
 the

A. R. 413. the reality of those we have spoken of, may be  
 S. C. 335. doubted. And indeed, it would be very surprizing, for foldiers, who ought to have thought themselves very happy in being pardoned their rebellion, to have been so insolent to demand, that such of their comrades as had opposed them, should be punished, and the Senate so weak as to grant it; otherwise we must suppose the army of the rebels to have been very numerous and formidable.

The sedition of which we have just spoke, was the first in which the Roman troops marched in arms against their country. But to consider the easy and immediate manner, in which it is appeased without costing a drop of blood, it ought in my opinion to be looked upon less as a revolt formed coolly and with reflection, than as a sudden and transient start of phrenzy almost involuntary, which hurries on these soldiers without knowing what they do, and which, far from extinguishing the love of their country in their hearts, shews how profoundly it was implanted in them, as at the first remonstrance of the Dictator it awakens on a sudden in all its vigour. The Romans were not yet susceptible of those monstrous excesses which civil war excites: *Nondum erant tam fortes ad sanguinem civilem.* That fury, that barbarity, was reserved for the latter unfortunate times of the commonwealth, when we shall see the Roman (a) armies marching against each other with flying colours, and Rome swimming in the blood of her citizens.

For the rest, we cannot too much admire the address and prudence, with which this whole affair is conducted both by the Consul and the

(a) ————— Infestis obvia signis  
 Signa, pares aquilas, & pila minantia pilis. *Lucan.*

Dictator. I do not know whether a more eloquent, more moving, and more persuasive discourse than that of Valerius Corvus to the mutinous troops is to be found in history. To know the human heart well, and how to influence the minds of men by gentle and insinuating methods to the purpose intended, is a great talent, and a science highly necessary to those who have the administration of governments.

C. PLAUTIUS, II.

A. R. 414.

L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

Ant. C. 338.

The rumour of the sedition of the Roman soldiers, and the war with the Samnites, made some States despise the alliance of the Romans. The Privernates in particular, by sudden incursions ravaged the lands of Norba and Setia, Roman colonies. The Consul Plautius soon put an end to those disorders.

Liv. 1. 8.

C. 1, 2.

Æmilius, the other Consul, to whom the war against the Samnites had fallen by lot, entered their country, and found them entirely quiet. With his permission they sent deputies to the Senate, to demand peace of the Romans, and permission to make war against the Sidicini. Those deputies represented, that the Samnites were ancient allies of Rome, and “ that the Sidicini, “ against whom they demanded leave to make “ wars had always been their enemies, and never the friends of the Romans.” The Senate, after having deliberated upon the affair, replied: “ It was not the fault of the Romans, “ that the alliance with the Samnites had not “ subsisted involably, and that they would willingly renew it: That as to the Sidicini, it “ was at their own option to act in regard to “ that people, and to make either war or peace “ with them, as they should think fit.”

*The Samnites demand peace.*

The

A. R. 414.  
 Ant. C. 338.

The Samnites, in consequence of this treaty, immediately turned their arms against the Sidicini. The latter, to secure themselves, had recourse to the Romans, and offered to submit to them as the Campanians had done. Their proposal was not accepted, under pretext, that it was only the effect of the extreme necessity to which they were reduced. Had the Campanians acted from any other motive? The Sidicini, on this refusal, applied to the Latines, who had already taken arms of themselves. The Campanians, more sensible to the injury they had received from the Samnites, than to the services of the Romans, also joined the Latines. A considerable army, formed out of the three people, entered the country of the Samnites, and retired after having ravaged it with fire and sword.

Their retreat gave the Samnites time to send deputies to Rome, to desire the Senate, that  
 “ they would be pleased to forbid the Latines  
 “ and Campanians, as they were dependent on  
 “ them, to attack the Samnites ; and in case of  
 “ disobedience, to reduce them to it by force  
 “ of arms.” The answer returned them was obscure and ambiguous ; because the Romans were not willing to own in express terms, that the Latines were no longer at their disposal as formerly, and that they apprehended alienating them entirely, if they assumed a loftier tone. They declared therefore, that they could forbid the Campanians, as being their subjects, to carry arms against the Samnites : but as to the Latines, there was no clause in the treaty with them, by which they were obliged not to make war with whom they thought fit.

*The Latines  
 prepare for  
 a war  
 with Rome.  
 Liv. l. 8.  
 c. 3—5.*

This answer, which terrified the Campanians, made them take off the mask, and rendered the

Latines, who perceived that the Romans feared them, more haughty than ever. Accordingly, called frequent assemblies under colour of the war with the Samnites, the principal persons of the nation concerted measures for attacking the Romans; and the Campanians came into their views. Whatever care was taken to keep these deliberations secret, in order to surprize the Romans, the latter had intelligence of them; and to put themselves in a condition to support so considerable a war as that with which they were threatened, they immediately nominated new Consuls, having for that purpose anticipated the time of election.

A. R. 414.  
Ant.C. 338.

T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, III.  
P. DECIUS MUS.

A. R. 415.  
Ant.C. 337.

Livy says, that Alexander King of Epirus came this year to Italy with his fleet. The learned Dodwell postpones this event to the time, where Livy dates Alexander's victory over the Lucanians and Samnites, that is to say, eight years later.

*Alexander  
King of E-  
pirus.*

The other much more famous Alexander, whose victories acquired him the surname of the Great, signalized himself at the same time, but in a different region. He was nephew by the mother's side to the Alexander of whom we spoke first.

*Alexander  
the Great.*

Though the revolt of the allies and of all the Latine states was no longer dubious, the Romans, as if their own interests had not been concerned, and only those of the Samnites, ordered ten of the principal Latines to attend, amongst whom were the two Prætors in office, L. Annius of Setia, and L. Numicius of Circeii (those two cities were both Roman colonies) to receive such orders as it should be judged proper

*The Latines  
demand  
haughtily,  
that one of  
the Consul  
shall be re-  
called out  
of their  
nation.*

per

A. R. 415.  
Ant. C. 327.

per to give them. The two Prætors, before they sat out for Rome, called an assembly, to know in what manner they should answer the orders, which they expected would be given them. Opinions being very much divided, Annius, who had given his first, spoke again as follows. *Though I myself proposed deliberating upon the answer it was proper to give the Romans, I believe that the Question at present is not so much to enquire, what it is necessary to say, as what it is necessary to do. When we have fully determined how we shall act, it will be easy to adapt words to our conduct. If we are abject enough to persist still in suffering a shameful slavery, under the colour and name of an alliance, there is nothing to deliberate upon: we must answer the Romans, that on the first signal from them we will lay down our arms. But if we have the least sense of honour and love of liberty remaining, if we remember that the treaty concluded with them is between equal and equal, if we reflect that our troops compose the half of their army: for what reason, where forces are equal, shall authority not be equal also? In a word, to speak my whole opinion at once, wherefore of the two Consuls should not one be elected out of the Latines, as the other out of the Romans? If ever there was a favourable conjuncture for possessing ourselves of our rights, the present is so. You have made trial of their patience on many occasions, but especially in refusing them the troops you have been accustomed to furnish them for almost two hundred years. They have borne it patiently. Whence do you think proceeds this moderation, except from their knowledge of their own strength and ours? They fear you; and the answer which I know they made the Samnites, clearly shews, that they reckon Latium no longer in their dependance. If any one here is afraid to be the carrier of your demands, I*  
offer

*offer myself to go, and make them known, not only before the Senate and People of Rome, but in the presence and sight of their Jupiter Capitolinus. I will declare there to them in your name, that, if they would have us for friends and allies, they must receive one of the Consuls from us, and compose a Senate half Romans and half Latines.* This discourse was generally applauded, and Annius commissioned to do and say whatever he should think expedient for the honour and interest of the Latine states.

When the deputies arrived at Rome, the Senate gave them audience in the Capitol. The Consul T. Manlius declared to them in the name of the whole body, that the Samnites were the allies of Rome, and that therefore the Latines had to desist from making war against them. Annius then replied, not with the gravity and moderation of a deputy, but with the tone of a victor, who had taken the Capitol by force of arms: *You certainly ought not, Romans, addressing himself to Manlius and the Senate, to assume the stile of masters over us, at least now, when you know to what an height of greatness and power the Latine people have attained, as well by their own, as the forces of their allies. As you cannot resolve to put an end to your imperious sway, according to all the rules of nature and reason, we ought, as it is in our power, to assert our liberty. However, as we are descended from the same blood, we are willing, in consideration of a tie always to be regarded, to proceed by the methods of accommodation; and since it has pleased the Gods to make the forces of the two people equal, propose conditions of peace to make them equal also in power and authority. For this end then of the two Consuls one must be chosen out of the Romans, and the other out of the Latines; and the Senate must consist also of an*

A. R. 415.  
A.U.C. 437.

*equal number of you and us, so that the Romans and Latines for the future may form only one people and commonwealth. And in order that there may be but one common seat of empire, and the two people may bear the same name, as it is absolutely necessary for one of them to resign that honour to the other, for the sake of peace, we consent, that Rome shall become our common country, and that we be all called Romans.*

The Consul Manlius, who was of a character no less proud and haughty than the Latine deputy, was seized with fury on this discourse, and declared that if the Senators were so void of reason and common sense as to accept such conditions, he would enter the Senate sword in hand, and kill all the Latines that should dare to place themselves there. Then turning towards the statue of Jupiter: *Great God, cried he, do you bear the criminal and impious proposal they make us! Will you behold foreign Consuls and a foreign Senate in your sacred temple! Is this then, Latines, the treaty which Tullus King of Rome made with the Albans your forefathers? or that since renewed with you by Tarquinius Priscus? Perhaps you have forgot the battle at the lake of Regillæ. Can you forget both your former defeats, and our signal benefactions, in such a manner?*

After Manlius had made an end of speaking, the Senate expressed no less indignation than their Head; and whilst the Consuls and Senators were calling upon the Gods, the witnesses of treaties and alliances, it is said that Annius was heard to express himself in terms of contempt and insult against Jupiter. But it is certain, that in descending from the porch of the temple with precipitation, he fell from the top to the bottom of the steps, and struck his head so violently against the stones, that he was stunned,  
and,

and, according to some authors, expired upon the spot. Others add, that whilst the Senate was imploring the vengeance of the gods, thunder was heard, which was followed by a great storm. All this might be true, says Livy; but seems better adapted to the theatre than history, where it might serve to embellish the scene, and for the better representation of the anger of the gods. And indeed as I have often observed, it was the custom of the ancients to throw the marvellous into singular and remarkable events.

A. R. 415.  
Ant. C. 337.

Manlius whom the Senate had ordered to reconduct the ambassadors, seeing Annus upon the ground, cried out aloud, so as to be heard by the Senate and People: *Heaven has heard our prayers, and declared for us. Yes, there is a Providence, there is a Jupiter, who regards the prayers addressed to him. Fear not, Romans, to take arms, which the gods themselves put into your hands. I will treat the Latines, and level them with the earth, in the same manner as you see the gods have done their Chief.*

This expression gave the People so much resentment against the Latines, that if the magistrates ordered to accompany the Deputies had not been present, the law of nations would not have secured their persons. War against the Latines was decreed. The Consuls, having raised two armies, which were joined by that of the Samnites, set out immediately, and incamped near Capua, where the Latines and their allies had their rendezvous.

War declared against the Latines.

Here, during the night (I have no other authority for this fact than Livy's credulity; neither does he affirm it positively) the two Consuls had the same dream or vision. A man of a larger and more majestic stature than or-

Dream of the two Consuls.  
Liv. l. 8.  
c. 6, 7.

A. R. 415.  
Aul. C. 337.

dinary appeared to them, and told them :  
 “ That the general on one side, and the army  
 “ on the other were due to the *Dii Manes* and  
 “ gods of the earth ; and that the army, whose  
 “ general should devote himself and the le-  
 “ gions of the enemy to those gods, should  
 “ be victorious.” When the Consuls had re-  
 lated this vision to each other, they judged it  
 necessary to offer sacrifices to the gods, in or-  
 der to avert their wrath ; and they were the  
 better pleased with consulting the gods in this  
 manner, as, if the inspection of the entrails fore-  
 told the same thing as their dream, one of the  
 two Consuls might prepare to fulfil the decree  
 of the fates.

The answer of the Aruspices agree perfect-  
 ly with the idea Manlius and Decius had con-  
 ceived in effect of their dream. They there-  
 fore assembled a council of war ; and in order  
 that the death of one of the Consuls might not  
 give the army terror and consternation, it was  
 agreed, that on the side which first gave way in  
 the battle, the Consul should devote himself for  
 the Roman People and their armies. It was  
 also thought necessary in so dangerous a war to  
 revive all the ancient severity of the military  
 discipline, and an order was published through-  
 out the camp, to forbid fighting out of rank,  
 and without the Consuls permission, upon pain  
 of death. What made such strict precautions  
 necessary, was because the Latines were the enemy,  
 with whom they were preparing to engage. They  
 usually supplied the Roman armies with half  
 their infantry, and two thirds of their horse.  
 As they had long and often made war in con-  
 junction with the Romans, they had entirely  
 contracted their genius and manners. Every  
 thing was the same on both sides : the same  
 arms,

arms, the same discipline, the same evolutions, and often even the same valour. The sole difference almost was, that of the generals, who were always the greatest and most able amongst the Romans, born to command. It is evident therefore, that too much precaution could not be taken against such an enemy.

The Consuls sent out horse on all sides to observe the motions of the enemy, who were not far off. T. Manlius the son of the Consul, having advanced at the head of a squadron almost to the gates of the camp of the Latines, was challenged to a single combat by one of the principal persons of their army, who also added haughtiness and insult to that defiance. The young Roman, full of fire and courage, could not contain himself. Whether rage, or shame to refuse the combat, or lastly, says Livy, whether urged on by the inevitable necessity of his fate, he forgot, at that moment, the respect and submission, which he owed to his father's authority, and the orders of the Consuls; and ran blindly into a combat, of which the event could not but be fatal to him, whether he conquered or were overcome. He killed his enemy, and after having taking his spoils, returned in triumph with his troop. When he arrived at the camp, he went directly to his father's tent, scarce knowing either the nature of what he had done, or what was going to happen to him in consequence; and assuring himself of praises, when he ought to have expected nothing but punishment. He presented himself therefore with confidence. *Father*, said he, *I have followed your example, and proved myself your son, I bring you these spoils of an enemy, who challenged me, and whom I killed in single combat.* As soon as the Consul had heard those words,

*Manlius  
Torquatus  
puts his son  
to death,  
for fighting  
against his  
orders.*

A. R. 415.  
Ant. C. 337.

he turned away, seemed both with his eyes and hands to push the young man from him, and immediately assembled the army. Then addressing himself to his son: *T. Manlius*, said he, *since without regard either to the Consular dignity, or the authority of a father, you have presumed contrary to our express orders to skirmish with the enemy, and have thereby, as far as in you lay, abolished the military discipline, which has been to this day the support of the Roman State, so as to have reduced me to the sad necessity, either of betraying the interests of the Commonwealth, or of sacrificing myself with whatever is most dear to me: it is just that we suffer the punishment of our offence, rather than it should fall upon our innocent country. We are going to give a sad and mournful example, but a salutary one to the troops of all succeeding times: not but that paternal tenderness, and even this first essay of your valour, which you have just given, suffering yourself to be misled by a vain phantom of glory, plead strongly with me in your behalf. But as it is necessary either to enforce the respect due to the Consular authority by your death, or to authorize the contempt of it by suffering your crime to pass with impunity; I believe you yourself, if you have any blood of mine in you, will not refuse to reinstate the military discipline by your punishment, which you have subverted by your disobedience. Go Licitor, fasten him to the stake. So cruel a decree undoubtedly cost him who made it some tears; and if, on this occasion, the love of the public good triumphed over paternal tenderness, we must believe that it did not entirely extinguish the sense of it.*

The whole army was struck with terror and consternation at so excessive and horrid an order; and each imagining he saw the ax in a manner pre-

preparing for himself, continued within bounds, less out of submission than fear. All kept a mournful silence for some time. But when they saw the head of young Manlius drop, and the earth covered with his blood, they quitted on a sudden the kind of stupefaction into which their first surprize had thrown them, gave a free vent to their groans and complaints; expressing the most tender compassion and regret for the son, and uttering the most violent execrations against the cruelty of the father. They celebrated the funeral of that unhappy youth with the utmost solemnity. They covered his body with the spoils of the enemy he had killed, erected him a funeral pile without the intrenchments, and the soldiers, in paying him these last sad duties, shewed the greatest zeal and the utmost tenderness in honour of his memory.

The action of Manlius, by whatsoever name it may be called, for I do not examine that here, whether it be denominated just severity, or barbarous cruelty, produced a double effect. On the one side, it rendered the soldiers more strict and obedient: on the other, it made the Consul eternally odious: the command of Manlius, *Manliana imperia*, became a proverb to express the most terrible and exorbitant excess of severity.

The battle was fought near mount Vesuvius on the way to \* Vesperis. The Roman Consuls, before they led the troops to battle, sacrificed victims, in order to know the will of the gods from the inspection of their entrails. The *A-ruspex* found something wanting in the \*\* head

\* It is doubted whether this be the name of a city, or of a river. *Decius devotes himself for the army, which gains a great victory over the Latines.* Liv. 1. 8. c. 12.

\*\* What the ancients meant by head of the liver is not pre-

A. R. 415.  
Ant. C. 337.

\* *Litum*  
63.

of the liver of Decius's victim, but that the rest of it was acceptable to the gods: that of Manlius was perfectly good. *I am satisfied*, said Decius, *if the victim of my colleague be entirely grateful\* to the gods.* The army advanced afterwards to engage. Manlius commanded the right wing, and Decius the left. The battle was fought with equal forces, valour, and success at first. At length the *Hastati* of the left wing not being able to sustain the impetuous charge of the Latines, retired to the second line, where the *Principes* fought. In this disorder the Consul Decius cried out with a loud voice to the Pontiff Valerius, *We have occasion here*, said he, *for the assistance of the gods. Lend me the aid of your office, and repeat the words, which I am to pronounce in devoting myself for the army.* The Pontiff ordered him to put on the robe called *Prætecta*; and with his head covered with a veil, one hand raised under his robe as high as his chin, and a javelin under his feet, he made him pronounce these words standing upright. *Janus, Jupiter, Father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, Dii Lares, Novensiles, Indigetes, and you, gods, who have a particular power over us and our enemies, Dii Manes, I beg, I humbly implore, I ask the grace, and I rely upon obtaining it, that you will bestow courage and victory upon the Roman People the Quirites; and at the same time that you will spread terror, confusion, and slaughter amongst the enemies of the Roman People the Quirites. And conformably to the words I have just pronounced, I devote myself for the Commonwealth of the Roman People the Quirites, for the army, legions, and auxiliary troops of the Roman People the Quirites, and I devote with myself the legion and auxiliary troops*

troops of the enemy to the *Dii Manes* and the goddess of the Earth. A. R. 415.  
Ant. C. 337.

After having pronounced these prayers and imprecations, he ordered his Lictors to retire to Manlius, and to inform him without loss of time, that he had devoted himself for the army. Then wrapping his robes about him, after the \* *Incinctus* Gabian manner, he threw himself impetuously into *circu Gabino.* the midst of the enemy. Terror and consternation in consequence seemed to lead the way before him. Wherever he turned, the enemy, as if thunder-struck, were immediately seized with horror and dread. But when he fell under a shower of darts, the confusion and disorder of the Latines redoubled. The Romans at that instant, filled with the confidence of having engaged the gods on their side, renewed the fight with new valour and vigour. Hitherto only the two first lines, that is to say the *Hastati* and *Principes*, had shared in the action. The *Triarii*, who formed the third line, waited the Consul's orders to move, kneeling upon their right knee. Manlius having received advice of his Colleague's death, and seeing that the Latines had the advantage in several places through the superiority of their numbers, was in some suspense whether it was not time to make the *Triarii* advance. But presently after judging it best to reserve them for the end of the action, he contented himself with making only some light-armed troops of the third line move to the front. The Latines, who believed them the whole body of the *Triarii*, brought theirs on also. The latter fought long with great ardor, and though their lances were either broke or blunted at the points, and themselves exceedingly fatigued by the redoubled efforts, they however began to break the Romans, and believed

A. R. 415.  
A. C. 337.

lieved themselves sure of the victory, imagining they had penetrated as far as the third line. The Consul then made the Triarii advance; who being entirely fresh, and having to do with troops already fatigued and exhausted, soon put them to the rout, and that with no great difficulty. An horrible slaughter of the Latines ensued, of whom scarce a fourth part escaped. The Samnites, who were at the foot of the mountain, augmented the terror of the Latines.

The whole honour of this battle was justly ascribed to the Consuls: of whom the one, says Livy, averted the wrath of the gods from the Romans, and made it fall upon the enemies; and the other shewed a courage and conduct in this battle, that gave all the writers, whether Romans or Latines, who transmitted accounts of it to posterity, reason to say, that on whatever side Manlius had been, that army must infallibly have been victorious.

Of the Latines who fled some retired to Minturnæ a little above the Mouth of the Liris, and others to Vescia. The Romans took their camp after the battle with abundance of prisoners. The body of Decius was not found till the next day. His colleague celebrated his funeral with great magnificence.

— The courage of devoting themselves to death for the preservation of their country, became a kind of domestick and hereditary virtue in the family of the Decii. (a) The father gives us an example of it here in the war against the Latines. His son in that with the Hetru-

(a) Si non mors timere- Pyrrho nepos, se hostium  
ret——non cum Latinis de- telis objecissent. *Tusc. Quæst.*  
certans pater Decius, cum *l. 1. n. 9.*  
Hetruscis filius, etiam cum

rians will pique himself upon treading in his steps, and will devote himself like him. And his grandson, according to Cicero, in a battle with Pyrrhus, will renew this glory peculiar to his family in his person. But how great soever Cicero's authority may be, the silence of historians, of whom none mention the last's devoting himself, except as a design not reduced to execution, renders this fact at least extremely doubtful.

The Romans, superstitious to excess, attributed the success with which these devotings were always attended, to a visible miraculous protection of the gods. Cotta in Cicero, who is not so credulous, finds nothing more than natural in it. (a) It was, says he, a stratagem of these great Men, who loved their country enough to sacrifice their lives for it. They were persuaded, that the soldiers, seeing their general throw himself into the midst of the enemy, where the battle was hottest, would not fail to follow him, and braving death by his example carry terror and consternation every where. And in this consisted the whole miracle.

The Latines having raised new troops hastily, in hopes to surprize Manlius, who expected nothing less than to see himself attacked by defeated enemies, were routed a second time at Trifanum, between Sinuessæ and Minturnæ. The loss was so considerable, that all the Latines, and after their example the People of

(a) Consilium illud imperatorum fuit, quod Græci στρατήγημα appellant, sed eorum Imperatorum qui patriæ consulere, vitæ non parcerent. Rebantur enim fore, ut exercitus imperatorem, equo incitato se in hostes immittentem, persequeretur: id quod evenit. *De nat. Deor.* 3. 15.

A. R. 415.  
Aet. C. 337.

Capua, submitted to the Romans. Part of their country was taken from them, and Roman colonies sent thither. The horse of Capua, to the number of sixteen hundred, were not involved in this punishment, because they had not shared in the revolt. To reward their fidelity they were made Roman citizens, and the people of Capua were obliged to pay each of them yearly the sum of four hundred and fifty \* *Denarii*, which might amount to about ten pounds sterling.

Manlius when he returned to Rome was met only by the old men. The youth looked upon him with detestation both then, and during all the rest of his life.

*Reflections upon the action of Torquatus.*

It is natural enough to examine what we ought to think of the action of Manlius, who puts his son to death without mercy for having fought contrary to his orders; whether we should consider it as a virtuous and laudable action, or an excess of severity, which cannot be too much detested, because carried into barbarity. We are at the same time surprized to see two characters so entirely opposite in the same man; (a) a generous tenderness for a father, from whom he had received nothing but ill treatment; and inhuman cruelty to a son, whose whole crime was his having abandoned himself to an immoderate indeed, but pardonable desire of glory one would think, at his age.

The bold and hazardous action of Manlius to save his father, evidently shews, that he was not one of a bad heart, and void of the sentiments, which nature and humanity inspire. Another

\* *The Denarius was not received at Rome, but might be in use among the Campanians.*

(a) *Magnus vir imprimis & qui perindulgens in patrem, idem acerbè severus in filium. Offic. 3. c. 12.*

cause must therefore be found for his treatment of his son. And this is neither obscure nor doubtful. Abandoned zeal for his country prevailed in him over nature and paternal tenderness. *Ipsi naturæ patrioque amorī prætulit jus majestatis atque imperii*; and Livy does not fail to make him declare it in the harangue, which he puts into his mouth. Manlius was a father, but he was a Consul. He loved his son, but he loved his country still more. Every body knows what was the idol of the Romans, to which they believed themselves obliged to sacrifice every thing: I say obliged, even by the laws, which prescribed the order of duties. The gods had the first place, their country the second: and the reciprocal duties of father and son held only the third. When the two last clashed, the struggle was hard; and to give their country the preference, required a constancy, or, to speak more justly, a kind of ferocity of mind, which silenced the voice of nature, and the sentiments implanted deepest in the heart of man. For, we must confess, whatever greatness of soul may be pretended in the principles, on which Brutus, Manlius, and several other famous Romans acted, when we examine them seriously and in cool blood, we cannot but be conscious of a secret voice within ourselves, that condemns them, because repugnant to nature and humanity.

*Cum ventum ad verum est, sensus moresque repugnant.*  
Horat. Sat. i. l. i.

A. R. 416.  
 Ant. C. 336.

T. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.  
 Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.

*The war  
 with the  
 Latines  
 continued.*  
 Liv. l. 8  
 c. 12.

The Latines, discontented with having been deprived of part of their country, continued their motions. The two Consuls marched against them. The latter defeated the enemy, took their camp, and obliged several states to submit to the Romans. His colleague however made his troops advance against the inhabitants of Pedum. They were supported by the cities of Tibur, Præneste, and Velitræ, and aid had been sent them from Lavinium and Antium. The Romans having had the advantage in some battles, Æmilius approached Pedum, where the enemy, in conjunction with their allies, had established their camp; and the whole weight of the war was turned on that side. Before it was terminated, Æmilius, having received advice, that a triumph had been decreed his colleague, returned hastily to Rome to demand the same honour, though he had not yet obtained the victory. The Senate, offended at so ill-tim'd an importunity, refused him a triumph, 'till Pedum should either be taken by force, or surrendered by capitulation. This refusal incensed him against them, and during the rest of his Consulship, he acted like a true Tribune of the people, without any opposition from his colleague, who was a Plebeian. The Senate, under pretext of a new revolt of the Latines, but in reality to rid themselves the sooner of two Consuls, with whom they were dissatisfied, ordered them to create a Dictator. Æmilius, who was then in authority, for the two Consuls when together presided by turns, nominated his colleague, who chose Junius Brutus General of the Horse.

It was natural to expect that a Plebeian Dictator would not fail to signalize his administration by some institution in favour of the people, and against the nobility ; and this happened. He passed three laws highly mortifying to the Senate, and which gave a very great blow to their authority. The first was that the *Plebiscita*, that is to say, the ordinances of the People, should extend to the Senators as well as the Plebeians. This law had already been passed upon the expulsion of the *Decemviri*, and probably was not sufficiently put in force. The second ordained (*a*), that the Senate should approve the laws first which should be passed in the assemblies by centuries, even before the People had given their suffrages ; whereas anciently the decrees of the People were not in force, till after they had been confirmed by the Senate. And by the third it was instituted, that one of the two Censors should always be elected out of the People : not long before they had prevailed to have it made lawful for two Plebeians to be Consuls at the same time.

A. R. 416.  
Ant. C. 336.  
*Three laws  
passed very  
much a-  
gainst the  
Senate.*

Liv. 1. 3.  
c. 55.

Liv. 1. 7.  
c. 17.

Liv. 1. 7.  
c. 42.

I am surprized that laws of such importance to the State should pass with perfect tranquillity without noise, complaint, or the opposition of the Senate. Livy at least says not a word to that effect. This was probably because the Senate was without an head, the Dictator being against it. But I am still more surprized, that so wise a body, so attentive to its interests, and so jealous of its privileges, after having exasperated Æmilius by the refusal of a triumph, and in consequence seen him declare openly

(*a*) Ut legum, quæ comitiis centuriatis ferrentur, aucto-  
ritatem suffragium, patres auctores fierent. Liv. 3. c. 12.

A. R. 416.  
Ant.C. 336. for the People, should, without necessity, order him to declare a Dictator, and put it into his power fully and immediately to revenge the pretended affront they had made him suffer.

A. R. 417.  
Ant.C. 335. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.  
C. MÆNIUS.

*All the  
Latine  
states are  
conquered  
by the Ro-  
mans.*

The Latines, after all their losses, were come to the point of not being able to endure either war or peace. Their weakness made them incapable of undertaking war; and their rage for having been deprived of part of their country would not permit them to have recourse to peace. They believed it observing a medium, to keep themselves shut up within their cities to avoid drawing the Roman arms upon them; and to hold themselves also in readiness, in case the Romans should form a siege of any place, to march altogether to its aid. This plan did not succeed, and they executed it ill. The city of Pedum being besieged, only the people of Præneste and Tybur entered it, being its nearest neighbours. Mænius, one of the Consuls, attacked with advantage, and defeated near the river Astura the Aricini, Lavinians, and Veliterni, who had joined the Volsci of Antium, in order to march to the relief of the city. Camillus, the other Consul, made himself master of it by storm, after a defence of considerable length. When Pedum was taken, the two Consuls being joined, led their victorious troops against all the other cities, and subjected the whole country of the Latines. They left good garrisons in the conquer'd places, and returned to Rome. The honour of a triumph was decreed them unanimously, to which a new mark of distinction very extraordinary in those

those times was added, the erecting of two equestrian statues of them in the Forum.

A. R. 417.  
An. C. 335.

Before the election of new Consuls, Camillus reported the actual condition of the Latines to the Senate, in order to their deliberating with proper information upon what it was proper to establish in respect to them. *Fathers, said he, all that remained to do in Latium has been happily effected by the favour of the gods, and the faithful and valiant service of your soldiers. The armies of the enemy have been defeated near Pedum and Astura. All the Latine Cities, and Antium which belonged to the Volsci, have been either taken by force of arms, or voluntarily surrendered; and are now in the possession of your garrisons. As these people disturb us by frequent revolts, the question now is to find effectual means for establishing a solid and lasting peace. The gods have put their fate entirely into our hands. It is for you to resolve, whether Latium shall subsist any longer or not. In respect to the Latines, you have it now in your power to assure yourselves of perpetual peace, either by treating them with rigour, or pardoning them. Are you willing to treat a people with the utmost severity, who have returned to their obedience, and are no longer able to oppose you? It is at your choice to destroy all Latium for ever, and to reduce a country into a desert, which in many important wars has supplied us with numerous and excellent troops. Or is it your will, after the example of your ancestors, to give a new augmentation to the commonwealth, in receiving the conquered people into the number of your citizens. This you may do in a manner equally for your advantage and glory: And nothing is more certain, than that the only means for establishing a firm and permanent sway, is so to act, as to make*

A. R. 417.  
Ant. C. 335.

*the conquered people obey with joy. But, whatever choice you make, it is necessary you should make it soon. You know these people are in suspense between hope and fear. It is for your interest, both to deliver yourselves as soon as possible from this care, and to take the advantage of their present state of uncertainty, either for inflicting punishment, or granting them pardon, before they have had time to look about them. Our duty was to put it into your power to make such a choice as you should think fit. It is yours now to determine upon that which is most expedient for yourselves and the commonwealth. I need make no remark upon the wisdom and eloquence of this discourse: but I desire the reader to observe in what is going to be decreed in respect to the Latines, how invariably the Roman people persisted to adhere to the maxims of government and rules of policy established from the foundation of the empire, the end of which was to attach the conquered states to them for ever, and to make but one and the same people with them from thenceforth, by granting them the freedom of Rome.*

The discourse of Camillus was generally approved: but tho' the Senate did not hesitate in giving the preference to clemency, as the conduct of the States of Latium had been different, they believed it necessary to make some difference also in the treatment of them. The inhabitants of Lanuvium had the freedom of Rome granted them: they were permitted to use their own religious ceremonies, and it was decreed, that the temple and sacred grove of Juno Sospita should be common to them with the Roman People. The people of Aricia, Nomentum, and Pedum, were also made Roman citizens. The right the Tusculans already  
had

had was reserved to them, and the punishment of their revolt was made to fall only upon some particulars, who had been the ring-leaders of it. The people of Velitræ, who were anciently Roman citizens, were treated with great rigour, because they had frequently rebelled before. Their walls were demolished ; and their Senators were ordered to quit the place, retire to the other side of the Tiber, and never to appear more on this side of that River under great penalties. Their lands were granted to a colony sent thither : and as their number was very considerable, the city was almost as well peopled as before. A new colony was also sent to Antium, and the ancient inhabitants were granted permission to join it if they thought fit. All their ships of force, with which they followed piracy were taken from them, and navigation was prohibited them. All of them were granted the freedom of Rome. Part of those ships were brought to Rome and laid up in the Arsenals : the rest were burnt, and the heads or beaks of them employed as ornaments for the tribunal of harangues erected in the Forum ; and from thence that tribunal derived the name of *Rostra*. Part of the country of Tiber and Præneste were confiscated, not only as a punishment for their last revolt, which they had been guilty of in common with the rest of the Latines, but because formerly, in order to throw off the Roman Yoke, they had joined the Gauls, a fierce and barbarous nation. The rest of the Latine states were deprived of the right and custom of allying by marriages, of trafficking with each other, and of composing the same common assemblies. The quality of Roman citizen, but without the right of Suffrage, was granted to the Campanians, out of

A. R. 417.  
Ant. C. 335.

consideration for their cavalry, who had refused to enter into the revolt of the Latines : as also to the people of Fundi and Formiæ, because they had always given the Roman armies a free passage thro' their country. The people of Cumæ and Sueffula had the same privilege.

A. R. 413.  
Ant. C. 334.

C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.

P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

*Vestal con-  
demned.*

In this Consulship, a Vestal called Minucia, who had rendered herself suspected by too much care in adorning her person, having been accused before the Pontiff, was convicted of having violated the law of chastity, and suffered the usual punishment of being buried alive.

*Prætorship  
granted to  
a Plebeian.*

The Prætorship, which from its institution, during almost thirty years, had always been exercised by the Patricians, was given this year to a Plebeian for the first time : his name was Publius Philo, an illustrious person, who had already been Consul and Dictator. For in those times the Romans made no difficulty in accepting an inferior charge, after having filled the highest dignities. The Senate, who had not been able to exclude the Plebeians from the first offices of the state, thought it needless to give themselves any trouble to prevent them from holding the Prætorship.

A. R. 419.  
Ant. C. 333.

L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

CÆSO DUILIUS.

The Aufonians, who inhabited the city of Cale, had taken arms in conjunction with the Sidicini their neighbours. They were defeated by the Romans, and retired into their respective towns.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS, IV.

A. R. 420.

Ant.C. 332.

M. ATILIUS REGULUS.

M. Valerius besieged and took the city of  
• Cale.

T. VETURIUS.

A. R. 421.

SP. POSTUMIUS.

Ant.C. 331.

A colony of two thousand five hundred citizens were sent to Cale.

A. CORNELIUS, II.

A. R. 422.

CN. DOMITIUS.

Ant.C. 330.

Dodwell places the first descent of Alexander King of Epirus into Italy in this year. Having landed at Pæstum, he first attacked the Lucanians, and ravaged their country. The Samnites immediately flew to their aid. Those two people were defeated in battle. Alexander made an alliance with the Romans.

The *Census* was now taken. As the number of the citizens had been very much augmented by the new conquests, two Tribes were added to the former in their favour: the Tribe *Mæcia*, so called from *Castrum Mæcium*, which was not far from Lanuvium; and the Tribe *Scaptia*, which takes its name from *Scaptia*, a small town near Pedum. By this addition the Tribes amounted to the number of twenty-nine.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

A. R. 423.

C. VALERIUS POTITUS.

Ant.C. 329.

This year was distinguished by a sad event, occasioned either by the badness of the air, or an horrible crime. Livy relates the second cause at

\* This city was famous for the excellent wine of its territory.

Roman ladies convicted of poisoning, and punished.  
Liv. l. 8.

A. R. 424.  
A.D.C. 329.

large ; but observes, that it appeared doubtful to some authors. The principal persons of the city, to the surprize of every body, died of diseases which seemed to be the same, and almost all with the same symptoms. In the trouble and alarm of the whole city in consequence, a female slave went to Q. Fabius, afterwards surnamed Maximus, who was then Curule Ædile, and promised to discover the cause of this mortality, provided she might be protected from the consequences with which the affair might be attended. Fabius immediately gave the Consuls advice of this information, and they reported it to the Senate, who caused the assurances the slave demanded to be given her. She declared that the mortality was occasioned by poison prepared by the Roman ladies, and that if proper persons were sent with her, they would have evident proofs of what she said. The Consuls in consequence went with her, surprized some ladies actually employed in preparing certain drugs over the fire, and found potions ready composed locked up in their keeping. They caused these potions to be carried into the Forum, and made twenty Roman ladies, in whose houses they had been found, appear before them. Two of them, Cornelia and Sergia, were of the Patrician order, who said that those draughts were wholesome remedies. The slave, who saw herself charged with false accusation by that answer, insisted that themselves should take them to shew their innocence. Having caused the multitude to be removed, they consulted together, boldly accepted the proposal, and all perished immediately by their own crime. Their accomplices were instantly seized, and discovered a great number of ladies guilty of the same practice, of whom an hundred

dred and twenty were condemned. The tribunals of Rome had never before taken cognizance of the crime of poisoning.

A. R. 423.  
Ant.C. 329.

Besides what Livy says, that some authors ascribe the mortality of this year, not to poison, but to an epidemical disease; there is, in my opinion, several circumstances in the relation itself, that make it little probable, especially the number of near two hundred women convicted of this crime. Is it credible, that they should keep a secret of that importance any time so inviolably, as not to let any circumstance concerning it transpire and take air.

However it were, this event is considered as an effect of the wrath of the Gods; and in order to appease it, recourse was had to a ceremony, already employed sometimes in dangerous conjunctures, which has been mentioned elsewhere: this was to *drive a nail* into the temple of Jupiter. A Dictator was nominated for that purpose.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

C. POETELIUS LIBO.

A. R. 424.  
Ant.C. 328.

Dodwell adds a year in this place omitted by Livy, in which the persons just mentioned were Consuls. Solinus says, that Alexandria in Egypt was built at this time. Livy postpones this event six years; which error is believed to proceed from the resemblance between the names of the Consuls then elected, and those of this year.

Polyhist.  
c. 35.

## S E C T. IV.

*Siege of Privernum. That city is taken. War declared with the city of Palæpolis. Dispute concerning the pretended vicious creation of a Dictator. Death of Alexander King of Epirus. War with the Samnites renewed. Palæpolis taken. Regulation against creditors. War declared against the Vestini. They are defeated. Papirius Cursor is declared Dictator against the Samnites. His disputes with Q. Fabius his master of the horse, who had given battle contrary to his orders, and whom he is for putting to death. He pardons him at last at the request of the People. The troops disgusted with the Dictator, express their discontent in a battle. He reconciles them. The Samnites are defeated, and obtain a truce for a year.*

A. R. 425.  
Ant. C. 327.

L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS, II.  
L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.

*Siege of  
Privernum. That  
city is taken.*

THE following years have no very remarkable event. The Ædiles caused porticos, from whence the chariots were to start in the races, to be built at the entrance of the Circes. They were called *carceres*, goals. The siege of Privernum was now undertaken, whose inhabitants, in conjunction with those of Fundi, ravaged the lands of their neighbours, the allies of the Roman people. Whilst two Consular armies were employed in this siege, a report spread, that the Gauls approached. Rome, on the least suspicion of that nation's being in motion, took the alarm. Levies were immediately made, and (a) the meanest workmen and shop-

(a) Opificum quoque vulgæ litæ idoneum genus, excitæ, & telorum, inimicè mīdicuntur. *Liv.*

keepers,

keepers, though very unfit for service, were  
lifted.

A. R. 425.  
Ant. C. 327.

L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, II.  
C. PLAUTIUS.

A. R. 426.  
Ant. C. 326.

Mamercinus, to whom the war with the Gauls had fallen by lot, found, that the report concerning their march was without foundation. Plautius, the other Consul, who had continued the siege of Privernum, soon made himself master of it, and sent Vitruvius to Rome, the principal author of this war, whom the Privernates had put into his hand. He was a person of great power, not only at Fundi his country, but even at Rome, where he had a magnificent house. It was demolished, and he put to death. The walls of Privernum were levelled, and the Senate of that city banished beyond the Tiber, as had been done in respect to that of Velitræ.

Plautius, on his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph. After that solemnity, which according to custom was followed with the punishment of the principal authors of the revolt, he assembled the Senate, to determine in respect to the fate of the Privernates, and the treatment they were to have. He represented, that the most criminal having suffered the punishment they deserved, the multitude, who had not given into this war on their own accord, might be spared, and the rather, because the city of Privernum bordered on the Samnites, in whose amity no great confidence could be placed. Opinions differed exceedingly, according as the Senators were differently inclined to lenity or severity. One of them having asked the ambassadors of Privernum, what punishment he believed his countrymen deserved: *That*, replied one of them, *which those deserve*  
*who*

A. R. 426.  
 AN. C. 326.

*who believe themselves worthy of being free.* The Consul, who perceived the bad effect this answer had produced, which was too haughty, and too little reserved, for the present conjuncture, in order to afford him an opportunity of giving it a milder turn, interrogated him again with great goodness and in an amicable manner: *Well, and suppose we should entirely remit punishment, what peace would you observe with us in that case?* *A fixed and perpetual peace,* replied the ambassadors, *if the conditions of it are equitable: uncertain, and of short duration, if otherwise.* Some Senators were still more offended at this second answer, which they considered as a menace, and almost as a declaration of war: but the wisest and most judicious thought otherwise of it. They represented, that the answer argued a man of courage, jealous of his liberty. *And indeed,* say they, *can you believe that any people, or even private person, will voluntarily remain in a condition with which he is discontented, and that he will not endeavour to extricate himself out of it as soon as he can?* *Peace is certain only for those who make it with a good will. No faith is to be expected from a people by those who would reduce them into slavery.* The Consul supported this opinion, and said loud enough to be heard by those who thought in a different manner, *That only those who were jealous of their liberty above all things, were worthy of becoming Romans.* This opinion prevailed, and the freedom of Rome was granted the Privernates.

A colony was sent this same year to Anxur, composed of three hundred citizens, to each of whom two acres of land were distributed.

P. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.

A. R. 427.

P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.

Ant. C. 325.

Another colony was soon after sent to Fre-gellæ. A certain largess was exercised this year for the first time, which became very common afterwards. M. Flavius distributed raw flesh amongst the People (*visceratio*) at his mother's funeral. This liberality acquired him the office of Tribune, to which he was promoted though absent.

The following year war was declared against Palæpolis. That city was situated very near Neapolis. The inhabitants of those two cities, which, properly speaking, made but one, were originally of Cumæ; and Cumæ derived its origin from Chalcis in Eubœa, some citizens of which, after having first seized the isles of Æ-naria and Pithecusæ, removed at length to the continent, where they settled, and became very powerful. The city of Palæpolis, con-fiding in its own strength, and the aid it expec-ted from the Samnites, who were but ill dis-posed to keep the peace with the Romans, and perhaps on the report of a plague's raging at Rome, had committed abundance of hostilities upon the lands of Capua and the Falerni. War was declared against it in form.

*War de-  
clared  
with the  
city of Pa-  
læpolis.*

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

A. R. 428.

Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO II.

Ant. C. 324.

The two new Consuls divided their forces. Publilius was ordered to attack the Greeks, that is to say Palæpololis, and Cornelius to have an eye upon the Samnites, in order to prevent them from undertaking any thing. Upon ad-vice

A. R. 423.  
 Art. C. 374.

vice, that the latter were certainly making preparations of war, and solicited their neighbours to join them, Rome caused complaints to be made to them by her deputies, to which they answered with an air of haughtiness and pride, that sufficiently argued their thoughts, and for what they were preparing.

*Dispute  
 concerning  
 the pre-  
 tended  
 vicious  
 creation of  
 a Dicta-  
 tor.*

The time for the election of Consuls approached. It was not thought proper to send for either of the Consuls actually in office, because their presence was necessary in their armies. Cornelius was ordered to create a Dictator for holding the assemblies. He nominated M. Claudius Marcellus. The People had also decreed that Publilius, when his Consulship expired, should continue the war against the Greeks in quality of Pro-Consul, till it was absolutely terminated. The Dictator however did not hold the assemblies, because difficulties were started concerning his creation; and the Augurs, who were consulted on the occasion, declared it vicious. The Tribunes of the People rose up strongly against this declaration, and rendered it much suspected, or rather absolutely ridiculous. *For indeed, said they, how could the Augurs know that there was any defect in a creation, which the Consul had made in the night according to the usual custom, with all the necessary precautions to prevent the interfering of any obstacle. There is no advice from him upon this head, either to the Senate, or any private Person whatsoever. There is not a single mortal, who says he has seen or heard any thing capable of disturbing or preventing the auspices. And do the Augurs then pretend, whilst they remain quiet here in Rome, to have the privilege of divining what passes at distance in the camp of the Romans? Who does not perceive clearly, that the*  
*only*

*only defect the Augurs find in the nomination of Marcellus, is his being a Plebeian?* These reflexions appear very just, and unanswerable. The Augurs however carried it, and an interregnum took place, which was succeeded by thirteen more. At last C. Poetelius, and L. Papius Mugillanus were elected Consuls. It is under these Consuls that Livy says Alexandria was built.

A. R. 423.  
Ant. C. 324.

C. POETELIUS II.

L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.

A. R. 420.  
Ant. C. 323.

Livy places, but with better foundation, the death of Alexander king of Epiros in the same year. Though that has no relation to the Roman history; however as that prince made war in Italy, Livy thought it merited a place here.

*Death of Alexander king of Epiros.*  
Liv. l. 8.  
24.

When the Tarentines pressed him to come to Italy, he believed it incumbent upon him to consult the oracle of Dodona, which is said to have answered, that he should shun the river Acheron, and the city of Pandosia, because the destinies had decreed, that he should perish there. This answer made him hasten his voyage to Italy, in order to remove from Pandosia a city of Epirus, and the river Acheron, which rises in the country of the Molossi, and empties itself into the gulph of Thesprotia: But (as it frequently happens, says Livy, that endeavouring to avoid, we often hurry into our fate) after having defeated the Brutians and Lucanians in several battles, taken several towns from them, sent three hundred persons of the most illustrious families as hostages to Epirus, he halted near a city, which he did not know was called Pandosia, and seized three eminences at some small distance from each other upon

A. R. 119.  
Ant. C. 325.

upon the frontiers of Bruttium and Lucania, in order to ravage from thence the country round about. Continual rains having laid it under water, and separated the bodies of his army in such a manner, that they were not in condition to aid each other, two of those bodies were cut in pieces by the enemy, who attacked them when they least expected it, after which they turned their whole forces against the king. The exiles of Lucania, who served in his troops, sent to their countrymen, and promised to deliver the king into their hands dead or alive, upon condition of being reinstated again at home. In this extreme danger, the king had the courage to open himself a way through the enemy with an handful of followers, and to kill the General of the Lucanians, who opposed him with his own hand. Drawing together his troops who had dispersed on all sides in their flight, he arrived on the banks of a river, whose bridge though it had been lately carried away by the violent inundations, served however to point out the passage. As the troops were passing this stream with great difficulty, not knowing where it was fordable, a soldier quite exhausted with fatigue, and frozen with fear, cried out: *Ab unfortunate river, it is with reason they call thee Acheron.* When the king heard that word, he immediately called to mind the answer of the oracle and stopp'd short, in doubt whether he should pass the river or not. But seeing the Lucanians advancing towards him, he drew his sword, and spurred his horse into the current. He had scarce entered it, when one of the Lucanian exiles wounded him with a javelin, and he fell dead. The stream carried his body towards the enemy, who tore it in pieces, and did it a thousand

and outrages. In the midst of their fury, a woman in great affliction ventured to present herself to them, and asked as a favour, that they would grant her the remains of that unfortunate dead body, which would serve her as a means for getting her husband and children out of the hands of the enemy, who kept them prisoners. Her prayers and tears prevailed, and they desisted from insulting the body. She paid the last duties to those miserable remains in the city of Consentia, and put the king's bones into the hands of the enemy, who were at Metapontum, which were carried from thence into Epirus to Cleopatra his wife, and Olympias his sister, of whom the latter was mother and the former sister of Alexander the Great.

The ceremony of the *Leſtisternium* was celebrated at Rome this year for the fifth time, as it had been for the third the 391st year of Rome. Livy does not speak of the fourth.

The Consuls who had been elected after several interregna, caused war to be declared against the Samnites in all the forms, and applied themselves entirely in making the necessary preparations for its success.

*War renewed against the Samnites. Liv. l. 8. c. 25, 26.*

They received aid, which they did not expect: this was from the Lucanians and Apulians, States which had never had any commerce with the Romans till then, and who came now of themselves to offer them their troops in the war against the Samnites. Their offer was accepted with joy, and a treaty of alliance was concluded with them.

The Romans took some \* cities from the Samnites, and ravaged part of their lands.

*\* Allifæ, Caliphæ, Ruſſrium, Polypolis taken.*

They had no less success against the Greeks. The auxiliary troops sent by the Samnites and people

A. R. 429.  
Ann. C. 525.

people of Nola to the aid of Palæopolis, committed excessive disorders in that place. This induced the besieged to surrender themselves to the Romans. They did so by the advice and assistance of two of their principal citizens, who having the address to make the Samnites quit the city, under pretext of an important enterprise against the enemy, introduced the Roman troops into the place.

Publilius, after the taking of the city, returned to Rome, where he received the honour of a triumph. Two singular distinctions in those days, but which became very common afterwards, render that general's command remarkable in history. He was continued in authority under the title of Pro-consul; and triumphed after the expiration of his office as Consul. These are two novelties, till then without example.

Ib. c. 27. A new war with other Greeks situated in a very different region, began at this time to give Rome some perplexity. I defer speaking upon that head, till the breaking out of that war in earnest.

*Regulation  
of  
creditors.*

An odious and cruel violence, attempted by a creditor, against the son of his debtor, who had put himself into his hands in his father's stead, made way for a wise institution, by which the imprisoning of citizens for debt was prohibited. The estates only, and not the persons of debtors, were abandoned to creditors. This regulation does not seem to have been always exactly observed, because forty years after, it was necessary to renew it, when the multitude retired to Janiculum.

L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, II.

A. R. 430.  
Ant. C. 322.

D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.

The first care of these Consuls was to propose an affair of importance, that required immediate decision, to the Senate. The Vestini had lately joined the Samnites, with whom the Romans were actually at war. It was apprehended, that their example, if it remained unpunished, would become contagious, and procure the Samnites more allies. But it was to be feared, in case of attacking the Vestini, that the neighbouring States might take the alarm, and it was almost certain, that the Marfi, Peligni and Marrucini, who altogether were not less formidable than the Samnites, would declare against Rome. The deliberation was delicate and perplexing. The boldest conduct, though it might seem the least prudent, was preferred, and war was declared against the Vestini. (a) The event shewed, that there is wisdom sometimes in hazarding, and that timorous counsels are not always the most successful. This war fell by lot to Brutus, and that against the Samnites to Camillus. The armies of both took the field, and the care of preserving their own country prevented the enemy from joining their troops.

Camillus, whose province was the most important, having been rendered incapable of discharging the functions of it by a considerable illness, had orders to declare a Dictator. He nominated L. Papirius Cursor, one of the greatest generals Rome had ever produced, who appointed Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, master of the horse, a young man of the

*War de-  
clared a-  
gainst the  
Vestini.  
They are  
defeated.  
Liv. l. 8.  
c. 29.*

*Papirius  
Cursor is  
elected Dic-  
tator a-  
gainst the  
Samnites.  
Liv. l. 8.  
c. 29—37.*

(a) Eventus docuit, fortes fortunam juvare. Liv.

A. R. 430.  
Ant. C. 432.

highest birth, and still greater hopes. These two persons, so well matched one would think, if they were famous for the victories they gained during their command, were still more so for the difference that arose between them, in which things were carried almost to the last extremities, as we shall soon see.

Every thing succeeded with Brutus on the side of the Vestini. The ravaging of their country reduced them against their will to come to a battle, wherein they lost most of their troops. It was bloody also on the side of the Romans, who bought this victory dear. They pursued the enemy into their camp, which they soon abandoned for the refuge of their cities, most of which were taken.

*Fabius  
master of  
the horse,  
fights du-  
ring the  
absence of  
the Dicta-  
tor contra-  
ry to his  
order, and  
gains a fa-  
mous vic-  
tory.*

As to the Dictator, he was obliged, probably on account of some pretended necessary ceremonies omitted at first, to return to Rome to consult the auspices. Upon quitting the army, of which he left the command to the master of the horse, he expressly forbade him to fight in his absence. But Fabius no sooner saw him set out, than he conceived thoughts of forming some enterprize, and especially when he received advice of the enemies extreme negligence since the departure of Papirius. Disgust to see the Dictator act despotically, as if the success of all things depended solely upon him, and the favourable occasion which he thought he had of signalizing himself by a glorious action, made him forget the orders he had received not to fight. He made haste to attack the Samnites. The success of the battle could not have been greater, if the Dictator had been there in person. The general and soldiers did their duty perfectly well, and twenty thousand of the enemy were left upon the

the field. Some authors even said, as Livy <sup>A. R. 430.</sup> observes, that there were two battles, and that <sup>Ant. C. 322.</sup> Fabius was victorious in both. He took care to burn the spoils of the enemy, whether he had made a vow to that effect, which was common enough, or rather did it to prevent the Dictator from deriving any honour from them, and their serving to adorn his triumph.

Immediately after the action, he wrote advice to Rome of the victory, and addressed his letters to the Senate and not to the Dictator, thereby sufficiently intimating, that he had no thoughts of dividing the glory of his successes with him. The whole city was in great joy upon this news: only Papirius did not share in it, and expressed nothing but discontent and indignation. He immediately dismissed the Senate, which was actually assembled when this account came, and quitted it in the highest rage; declaring loudly, that the master of the horse had overcome the enemy, less than the authority of the dictatorship and military discipline, if his disobedience passed with impunity. He immediately set out for the army, menacing Fabius in the most terrible manner. But, notwithstanding all the expedition he made, some of Fabius's friends got to the camp before him, who flew from the city to give him notice, that the Dictator was upon the point of arriving, resolved to proceed with the utmost severity, and not opening his mouth, except in praise of Manlius's rigor in regard to his son.

Fabius, on the first news of the Dictator's approaching arrival, instantly assembled the soldiers, "conjuring them, that if they had  
 "not wanted valour to defend the common-  
 "wealth against its formidable enemies, they  
 L 2 "would

A. R. 430. " would have no less to save him, under whose  
Ant. C. 432. " conduct they had gained the glorious victory  
" from the tyrannical cruelty of the Dictator."

And he endeavoured to make the indignation of Papirius pass for an effect of envy. *He comes, said he, full of a base and malignant jealousy of the good-fortune and merit, which he sees with regret in another. He is in despair, that the commonwealth has had any advantage in his absence: and had rather, if that were possible, transfer the victory to the Samnites, than see it on the side of the Romans.* After some other reflections of the same nature, he added, in order to interest the whole army in his quarrel: "That themselves were attacked in his person. That the Dictator was no less incensed against the officers, and even soldiers, than against the master of the horse. That he intended him as the first victim to his vengeance; but that it was with the view of exercising the same rigors afterwards against all the rest: and he concluded with saying, That he put his fortune, life, and honour into their hands." They all promised to defend him at the hazard of their lives.

*The Dictator on his return cites Fabius to his tribunal and is for putting him to death.*

In the mean time the Dictator arrives, and immediately summons the assembly. He causes Fabius to be cited, and asks him in the first place, whether it were not true, that he had forbade him to fight; and in the second, whether he had not fought however. He ordered him to answer distinctly to those two questions. Fabius would have been at a great loss to have done so; and accordingly used evasions. Sometimes he complained of having his judge and accuser in the same person. Sometimes he cried out with a loud voice that he might deprive him of life, but not of the honour of an illustrious

illustrious victory. He mingled justifications with reproaches. But these loose, and at the same time, offensive discourses, only served to irritate the Dictator, who ordered his lictors to seize the master of the horse. Fabius at the same time called upon the soldiers for aid, and having disengaged himself from the lictors, took refuge in the midst of the army, who received, and surrounded him. The camp was in a dreadful tumult. Here prayers were heard, and there menaces. Those who were near the Dictator's tribunal, fearing to be known, as might easily happen, contented themselves with conjuring him to pardon the master of the horse, and not to condemn the whole army with him. But those who were at the extremity of the assembly, and the troops who surrounded Fabius, vented bold invectives aloud against the inflexible cruelty of the Dictator. At length Papirius's lieutenants, who were near his person, “ desired him to defer the decision of their  
 “ affair, and to take time to consider of it se-  
 “ riously and in cool blood. They represented  
 “ to him, that the master of the horse's fault,  
 “ which proceeded rather from his youth than  
 “ badness of disposition, had been sufficiently  
 “ punished, and his victory dishonoured. They  
 “ conjured him not to carry things to extre-  
 “ mities, and not finally to degrade by an  
 “ ignominious punishment, both a young man  
 “ of extraordinary merit, and his father a per-  
 “ son of such distinguished worth in so many  
 “ respects, with the whole illustrious house of  
 “ the *Fabii*.”

Seeing that these motives made no impression upon him, they desired him “ to cast his eyes  
 “ upon that multitude just ready to revolt ; ob-  
 “ serving at the same time that it did not consist

A. R. 430.  
Ant. C. 322.

“ either with his age or wisdom, to augment  
 “ the rage he saw too much enflamed already,  
 “ and to furnish matter for a sedition just upon  
 “ the point of breaking out : they added, that  
 “ nobody would impute it to Fabius, who was  
 “ for avoiding the punishment with which he  
 “ was menaced, but to the Dictator, if, blind-  
 “ ed by his rage, he exasperated the multitude  
 “ against him by obstinately persisting to abate  
 “ them nothing of his rigor. That to conclude,  
 “ lest he might think that they spoke in that  
 “ manner meerly out of favour to Fabius, they  
 “ were ready to affirm upon oath, that they did  
 “ not think it for the good of the common-  
 “ wealth in the present conjuncture to punish the  
 “ crime of Fabius.”

These remonstrances rather enraged Papirius against the lieutenants, than rendered him less inflexible in respect to Fabius. He commanded them to leave his tribunal ; and then ordered silence to be made. But the horrible noise, that continued, prevented either himself or his officers from being heard. At length night, as sometimes happens in battles, separated the adversaries.

*Fabius  
takes re-  
fuge at  
Rome. The  
Dictator  
follows  
him thither.*

The master of the horse was ordered to appear the next day. But by the advice of his friends, who represented to him, that the anger of Papirius would only be the more violent, in effect of contradiction, he fled to Rome in the night, and by the advice of his father, who had been three times Consul and Dictator, assembled the Senate. Whilst he was declaiming against the rigor and injustice of his general, on a sudden the noise of the Lictors removing the crowd was heard at the door. It was the Dictator, who having been informed of the retreat of  
 the

the master of the horse, had followed him close. A. R. 430.  
Ant. C. 322.

The quarrel was renewed, and Papirius ordered his Lictors to seize Fabius. In vain did the principal persons of the Senate, and the whole Senate, demand grace for him. He persisted inflexibly in his resolution. M. Fabius, father of the master of the horse, had then recourse to the last refuge that remained, and addressing himself to the Dictator: *As nothing, said he, is capable of moving you, neither the authority of the Senate, the age of an unfortunate father, whom you are resolved to deprive of his only consolation, the merit and nobility of a master of the horse, nominated by yourself, nor, lastly, prayers, which often make the most obstinate enemies relent, and disarm the anger of the gods: I put myself under the protection of the Tribunes and appeal to the People, and because you will not comply either with the judgment of the army, or that of the Senates, I make the People our judges, who certainly have more power than your Dictatorship gives you. Let us see whether you will submit to an appeal, to which Tullus Hostilius, King of Rome, submitted.*

In consequence of this appeal, they removed to the Forum. The Dictator ascended the tribunal for harangues followed by very few. The Master of the horse did the same, accompanied by all the most illustrious persons of the city. Papirius at first ordered him to go down, and his father following him, said to the Dictator, *You do us a favour in making us descend into a place, where, though we were private persons, we could make ourselves be heard.* At first what passed was not continued discourses, but tumultuous wrangling. At last the voice of Fabius the father, animated by his indignation, surmounted the

A. R. 430.  
Ant. C. 322.

tumult, and made the noise cease. He accused Papirius of pride and cruelty. He quoted himself by way of example, representing, “ That he had  
“ been Dictator also at Rome, but that he had  
“ never treated any one whatsoever, Plebeian, officer, or soldier, injuriously. That Papirius sought  
“ to acquire a victory over a Roman general, as  
“ over the chiefs of the enemy. What difference was there between the wise moderation  
“ of the ancients, and the haughty cruelty, upon  
“ which people valued themselves now-a-days!  
“ And he related on this occasion, the examples  
“ of many great men, who had signalized  
“ themselves only by their lenity in respect to  
“ generals, who had failed in their duty  
“ either against themselves, or the commonwealth. He added, that the Roman people,  
“ whose authority is sovereign, had never  
“ carried its anger farther against those, who  
“ had lost armies by their temerity and ignorance, than by condemning them in some  
“ fine ; but that none of them had hitherto  
“ been punished with death for having succeeded ill. That now the rods and axes  
“ were to be employed against the generals of  
“ the Roman people, who had obtained glorious victories, a treatment which could not  
“ rightfully have been used against them, even  
“ though they had been defeated. And was  
“ it consistent, whilst the the whole city was  
“ rejoicing and offering sacrifices of thanksgiving in the temples for the advantages gained  
“ by Fabius over the enemy, that Fabius himself  
“ should be led to execution in the presence of  
“ the people, and in the sight of the same gods,  
“ whom he had not invoked in vain, and  
“ whose protection he had experienced in the  
“ two battles he had fought. What grief  
“ would

“ would that be for the Roman army ! What  
 “ matter of triumph to the enemy ! ” He vented  
 these complaints imploring the aid of gods  
 and men, and with a flood of tears tenderly  
 embraced his son.

A. R. 450.  
 Ant. C. 322.

Fabius had the majesty of the Senate, the favour of the People, the protection of the Tribunes, and the ardent wishes of the army, on his side. Papirius, on the contrary, insisted strongly upon the authority of the supreme command, considered till then as sacred and inviolable, military discipline, the orders of the Dictator always respected as oracles, the example of Manlius, and paternal tenderness sacrificed to the State. He authorized himself also by the punishment inflicted by Brutus, founder of the commonwealth, upon his two sons. *But now, said he, soft and indulgent fathers, easy old men, reckon the Dictator's authority as nothing, and pardon a young man the subversion of military discipline, as a matter of little consequence. As for me, I shall continue fixed in my resolution, and will abate nothing of the just severity of the law, in regard to one who has fought in contempt at once of my orders and religion, at a time when the auspices were doubtful and uncertain. It is not in my power to prevent the majesty of the supreme command from being violated : but Papirius will never violate it in any thing by his own act. I desire that the Tribunitian power, which is inviolable, may itself not violate, by its opposition, the sacred rights of that command, and that the Roman People do not render vile, and destroy in my person, the authority of the Dictatorship, and the Dictatorship itself. If that be done notwithstanding my remonstrances, posterity shall not blame L. Papirius for it, but the Tribunes and the inconsiderate judgment of the People, when military discipline being once abolished,*  
*the*

A. R. 430.  
AUL. C. 322.

*the private soldier shall no longer obey the Centurion, the Centurion the Tribune, the Tribune the Lieutenant-general, the Lieutenant-general the Consul, nor the Master of the horse the Dictator. When neither men nor Gods shall be respected any longer; when the orders of the generals, and the auspices, shall be observed no more; when the troops shall disperse on all sides at their pleasure without leave; when, forgetting the religion of their oaths, and having no guide but licentiousness, they shall quit the service at will; when they shall keep to their colours no longer, assemble no longer when ordered, distinguish no longer between day and night, whether they are in a favourable or disadvantageous post, and are to fight with or without the order of their general; when they shall no longer take any care to follow their colours, or keep their ranks; in a word, that the soldiery, instead of being governed, as they always have been, by their oaths and inviolable customs, shall become an headlong banditti, without rule and without law: Tribunes of the People, will you be responsible for these enormous disorders to all succeeding times, and take upon your own heads the horror of all these crimes, for the sake of supporting Fabius in his disobedience?*

These words pronounced with a severe tone, and an air of majesty, made a terrible impression upon the People, each citizen considering them as so many curses, which he was going to take upon himself, in case he ventured to proceed any farther. The Tribunes in particular were so much confounded, and seized with such a terror in consequence, that they did not know where they were; and began to dread almost more for themselves, than for him whose defence they had undertaken. But the Roman People extricated them out of this difficulty, in having  
recourse

recourse to praying and conjuring the Dictator to grant them grace for the master of the horse. The Tribunes, following the People's example, united with them in their request; whilst Fabius the elder, and young Fabius, threw themselves at the feet of Papirius, imploring him with tears to suffer himself to be moved.

The Dictator then having caused silence to be made, spoke as follows. *I am satisfied: Military discipline, the majesty of the supreme command, which ran the risque this day of being forever abolished, have at length triumphed. Fabius, who presumed to fight contrary to the orders of his general, has not defended himself as innocent, but acknowledged himself guilty. He obtains pardon for his crime by the prayers of the Roman People and the Tribunes, who ask life for him as a grace, not as a justice. Live then, Q. Fabius, a thousand times more happy by the unanimity of your fellow-citizens in interesting themselves for you, than by the victory which gave you so much joy. Live, after having committed a crime, which your own father would not have forgiven you, had he been in my place. You may make your peace with me whenever you please. But for the Roman People, to whom you are indebted for your life, know that the greatest mark you can give them of your gratitude, is to learn from what has passed this day, to obey submissively, as well in peace as war, those who have a legitimate authority over you.*

Thus ended this great quarrel. The Senate and People, full of joy, re-conducted Papirius in a body, congratulating both the Dictator and master of the horse with an equal effusion of heart. Every body believed, that the military discipline had been no less enforced by the danger Fabius had ran, than by the cruel punishment of young Manlius. It however cost Fa-  
bius

A. R. 430  
Ant. C. 322.

*The Dicta-  
tor at last  
pardons  
Fabius at  
the request  
of the Peo-  
ple.*

A. R. 430.  
Ant. C. 322.

bis his office. The Dictator deposed him, and appointed another master of the horse in his stead.

It does not belong to me to decide upon the conduct of these great men, whose views were so much superior, and who knew how far the good of the commonwealth required, that severity and lenity should be carried. It cannot be denied, but that military discipline made it necessary, that Fabius, who had deserved death by his disobedience, should not obtain pardon till after having experienced all the danger of punishment, and that pardon should be granted him under the name of a grace and as to a criminal. The offer Papirius makes of being reconciled to him when he pleased, sufficiently argues, that he did not act from passion. But in my opinion, after all that had passed, which must have left a deep wound in the heart of a young Roman of Fabius's character, a pardon without reserve, mingled with some exterior marks of affection and tenderness, would have been very proper, if not to have healed that wound entirely, at least to have softened and abated the smart of it. The sequel of the history will shew, that Fabius always retained a warm resentment of the affront he had received.

*The troops  
disgusted  
with the  
Dictator,  
bore their  
animosity  
in a battle.*

It happened this year, as often as the Dictator removed from the army, that the Samnites put themselves in motion, and seemed desirous to come to a battle. But M. Valerius, the lieutenant-general, who commanded in the camp, had Fabius's example before his eyes, which made him less afraid of the enemy's attacks, than the inexorable anger of the Dictator. For this reason, when some foragers had fallen into an ambuscade, wherein they were defeated, it was believed that the lieutenant would have

have aided them, if the strict and terrible orders of the Dictator had not prevented him. This circumstance disgusted the troops still more in respect to him, who were already much dissatisfied with his inflexible rigour in the case of Fabius, and his having granted that to the prayers of the People, which he had obstinately refused to them.

A. R. 430.  
Ant. C. 312.

When the Dictator returned to the camp, his arrival neither gave much joy to his troops, nor much fear to the enemy. The next day, whether the latter were ignorant of his return, or did not pay much regard to it, they approached the Roman camp in order of battle. Papirius immediately marched out against them, and shewed in the battle, of how great consequence the merit and ability of a single man is sometimes to an army. For it was agreed on all hands, that the war with the Samnites might have been terminated this day with success, if the troops had supported their general, so happily had he known how to take all advantages. But the soldiers were expressly wanting in their duty, to obscure the glory of their leader, and to prevent him from gaining the victory. The Samnites had most killed, and the Romans most wounded. The Dictator rightly perceived what had been the obstacle to his victory, and that it was necessary to moderate the haughtiness of his disposition, and mingle mildness with severity. With this view, taking his lieutenants along with him, he went to visit the wounded, and putting his head into their tents, asked each of them how they did, and gave his lieutenants, Tribunes, and other officers, express orders that they should want for nothing. He acquitted himself with so much dexterity of a care very popular in itself, that in his endeavours

*The Dictator reconciles his troops to him.*

A. R. 430.  
A. M. C. 322.

vours to re-instate the health of the body, he perfectly cured the disorders of the mind, and conciliated their favour in a wonderful manner. This victory over himself soon procured him one over the Samnites.

*The Samnites are conquered, and obtain a truce for a year.*

When his army was entirely recovered, he attacked the enemy with entire assurance as well in respect to himself as the troops, of obtaining the victory. Accordingly he gave them so great a defeat, that from thenceforth they did not dare to shew themselves any more in the field against him. He afterwards led his victorious army into the enemy's country, wherever the hopes of booty invited him, without finding any resistance. And what augmented the ardor of the soldiers, was his abandoning all the spoils to them. The Samnites, discouraged by so many losses, demanded peace of the Dictator. After having agreed with them, that they should give each of his soldiers an habit and a year's pay, he referred them to the Senate. The Dictator re-entered Rome in triumph. The Samnites could obtain only a truce for a year.

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# THE ROMAN HISTORY.

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## BOOK THE NINTH.

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**T**HIS ninth book contains the history of twenty-five years, from the war with the Samnites and the defeat of the Romans at the *Furcæ Caudinæ*, the 431st year, till the war with the Hetrurians the 456th year of Rome.

### S E C T. I.

*The Samnites break the truce, and are entirely defeated. They make their submission, and are refused peace. Pontius, general of the Samnites, restores their courage, and makes them take arms. He lays an ambuscade for the Romans near Caudium : the latter give into it precipitately. Their army is shut up between two defiles. Pontius rejects the wise advice of Herennius his father. The Romans are reduced by necessity to accept*

A. R. 430.  
Ant. C. 322.

bilius his office. The Dictator deposed him, and appointed another master of the horse in his stead.

It does not belong to me to decide upon the conduct of these great men, whose views were so much superior, and who knew how far the good of the commonwealth required, that severity and lenity should be carried. It cannot be denied, but that military discipline made it necessary, that Fabius, who had deserved death by his disobedience, should not obtain pardon till after having experienced all the danger of punishment, and that pardon should be granted him under the name of a grace and as to a criminal. The offer Papirius makes of being reconciled to him when he pleased, sufficiently argues, that he did not act from passion. But in my opinion, after all that had passed, which must have left a deep wound in the heart of a young Roman of Fabius's character, a pardon without reserve, mingled with some exterior marks of affection and tenderness, would have been very proper, if not to have healed that wound entirely, at least to have softened and abated the smart of it. The sequel of the history will shew, that Fabius always retained a warm resentment of the affront he had received.

*The troops  
disgusted  
with the  
Dictator,  
bore their  
animosity  
in a battle.*

It happened this year, as often as the Dictator removed from the army, that the Samnites put themselves in motion, and seemed desirous to come to a battle. But M. Valerius, the lieutenant-general, who commanded in the camp, had Fabius's example before his eyes, which made him less afraid of the enemy's attacks, than the inexorable anger of the Dictator. For this reason, when some foragers had fallen into an ambuscade, wherein they were defeated, it was believed that the lieutenant would have

have aided them, if the strict and terrible orders of the Dictator had not prevented him. This circumstance disgusted the troops still more in respect to him, who were already much dissatisfied with his inflexible rigour in the case of Fabius, and his having granted that to the prayers of the People, which he had obstinately refused to them.

A. R. 430.  
Ant. C. 322.

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T H E

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the

*the advice of Postumius, who had concluded and signed it himself as Consul. Himself, his colleague, and all the officers who had signed the convention, are delivered up to Pontius, who refuses to receive them. The Samnites lose two battles. They are made to pass under the yoke. Luceria is taken, and the six hundred hostages confined in it restored to the Romans. Praise of Papirius Cursor.*

A. R. 431.  
A. U. C. 321.

C. SULPICIUS LONGUS, II.

Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.

*The Samnites break the truce, and are entirely defeated. They make their submission, and are refused peace.*

WE have seen that the Samnites, after having been defeated more than once by the Dictator Papirius Cursor, and reduced by their losses to demand peace of the Senate, had been able to obtain only a truce for a year, and That they did not keep the whole term. As soon as they were apprized, that Papirius, after having nominated C. Sulpicius and Q. Aulus Consuls, had abdicated the Dictatorship, they took up arms again, with no better success than before. They did not dare to face the Roman army, but kept themselves shut up in their cities. Their country, and that of the Apulians, whom they had brought into their party, were ravaged, during which they did not seem to have any thoughts of defending them.

A. R. 432.  
A. U. C. 320.

Q. FABIUS.

L. FULVIUS.

The Samnites shewed more courage the year following, and attacked the Roman army first. The battle was one of the rudest and most obstinate. Victory was long doubtful: but at last it declared entirely for the Romans, and the Samnites were cut to pieces.

This

This defeat, which cost the Samnites their best troops, exceedingly afflicted the nation. They said loudly in all the (a) assemblies, it was no wonder that a war undertaken against the faith of treaties, and wherein they had the Gods rather than men for enemies, was attended with ill success. That it was absolutely necessary to appease the wrath of heaven : that the question only was to consider, whether that was to be done by the blood and death of a small number of criminals, or by the entire ruin of the People, who had no share in that prevarication. They went so far as to name the principal authors of the rupture, at the head of whom they placed one Brutulus Papius. He was a man of great birth, and still greater credit, who was known to have induced the Samnites more than any one else to break the truce with the Romans. The Prætors, obliged to bring the affair relating to him into deliberation, ordained by a decree, “ That Brutulus Papius should be delivered up to the Romans : that all the spoils and prisoners taken from the Romans, should be sent with him to Rome ; and that satisfaction should be given them for all the grievances of which they had sent heralds to Samnium to complain.” The decree was executed, and in consequence the body of Brutulus, who had prevented the punishment by a voluntary death, was carried to Rome with all his fortune. The Roman people would receive only the prisoners, and such part of the spoils as were claimed by their owners. The deputies of the Samnites returned without having been able to obtain peace.

(a) Minimè id quidem mirum esse, si impio bello & contra fœdum accepto infestioribus meritis diis quam hominibus, nihil prospere agerent. *Liv.*

A. R. 452.  
Ant. C. 320.

I do not know whether the honour of the last victory, of which I have just spoke. is to be ascribed to the Consuls, or to a Dictator, who was nominated this year. It is certain, that Aulus Cornelius was Dictator. But some authors relate, that he was only created to discharge a function in the Roman games i. e. the room of the Prætor, who was very ill at that time; which was to give the signal for the starting of the chariots.

A. R. 453.  
Ant. C. 319.

T. VETURIUS CALVINUS II.

SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS II.

P. Pontius,  
General of the  
Roman army  
against the  
Samnites, was  
made a  
Roman  
citizen.  
Liv. l. 9.  
1, 3.

The return of the Deputies should, one would think, occasion a great consternation amongst the Samnites: but it produced a quite contrary effect. Caius Pontius, a person of very great military abilities, was then their general. His father Herennius passed for the wisest and most judicious man of his age. Cicero tell us, this last had been acquainted with Architas of Tarentum, a famous philosopher and mathematician, who in a conversation, at which Plato \* was present, proved, that the pleasures of the body were the source of the most fatal evils to mankind. What will be soon said of this Herennius, will shew, that his reputation for a man of wisdom and counsel was not without foundation.

Pontius, his son, soon after the return of the Deputies, called an assembly, to which he spoke in these terms. *Do not believe, Samnites, that your deputation has been vain and ineffectual. It has expiated the crime, which we had committed*

\* Plato came to Tarentum and Ap. Claudius, the 406th in the Consular year of L. Furius.

*in breaking the treaties, and appeased the anger of the gods justly provoked. If it be evident, that it was the will of the gods to force us by our losses to satisfy the Romans for the grievances they had suffered from us, it is no less clear, that it was not their will, that our satisfaction should be received with so much haughtiness and contempt. What is there more in our power to do either for appeasing the gods, or for satisfying men, than what we have done? We have returned them all we had taken from them, and that appertained to us by the right of war. Not being able to deliver up the authors of the rupture alive, we have delivered up their bodies. We have carried their estates to Rome, that nothing which belonged to the guilty might remain amongst us. And could the Romans require any thing more of us? We are willing to take any people of the earth for arbiters and judges of the case between us. But if there be no protection in human laws for the weak against those that are strong : we will have recourse to the gods, the avengers of pride and insolence. You have no occasion, Samnites, to deliberate upon the choice you ought to make. The war is just, when it is necessary ; and arms lawful, when they are our only resource. (a) Therefore, as in all human undertakings the only question is to know, whether the gods are for or against us, be assured that as in all preceding wars you have rather acted against the gods than against men, in this which you are going to undertake, you will have those same gods for your guides and protectors.*

A. R. 437.  
Ant. C. 319.

(a) Proinde, cum rerum humanarum maximum momentum sit, quam propitiis rem, quam adversis agant diis ; pro certo habere, pri-

ora bella adversus deos magis quam homines gessisse ; hoc, quod adsit, ducibus ipsis diis gesturos. Liv.

A. R. 433.

Ant. C. 319.

*Pontius**lays an**ambuscade**for the Ro-**mans near**Caudum.**they fall**into it pre-**cipitated.**Their ar-**mies are**sent in be-**tween two**defiles.*

This discourse filled the whole People with hope, courage, and ardor. Pontius, to make the best of those happy dispositions made his troops take the field immediately. As he could not with reason flatter himself, that the Samnites would be too hard for the Roman army by open force, which had always miscarried hitherto, he resolved to employ stratagem against those formidable enemies. He marched with as little noise as possible to incamp near Caudium, a little village between Capua and Beneventum; and knowing that the Consuls were not far off with their army, he disguised ten of his soldiers like shepherds, gave them flocks to drive in different places, but always on the side towards the Roman camp, and ordered all of them to say in conformity with each other, when they should be taken and carried to the Consuls, as could not fail to happen, that the army of the Samnites was actually besieging Luceria in Apulia, and that the place, whose inhabitants were faithful allies of the Romans, was reduced to great extremities. This report, which Pontius had before expressly caused to be spread, had already reached the camp of the Consuls. The account of the prisoners left no room to doubt it, and especially as they all agreed in their story with each other. All that Pontius had foreseen, happened. The Consuls gave into the snare, and believing it necessary to aid an allied city immediately, that was in great danger, they consulted no farther, except upon the route they were to take. There were two ways thither. The one safest, but farther: the other short, but dangerous, because it was necessary to pass two defiles, joined together by a circle of mountains, that left a plain of sufficiently large extent in the midst. The latter

was

was however preferred, because the Romans thought they could never arrive soon enough at Luceria. They passed the first defile, but when they came to the second, they found the entrance barricadoed with a great quantity of trunks of trees and great stones, that formed a kind of rampart. Upon casting their eyes upwards they perceived the neighbouring hills entirely covered with the enemy. They then returned precipitately in order to regain the other opening : but found that also barred, and the Samnites posted as at the first. They halted of themselves, seized with an astonishment and terror, that seemed to have deprived them at once of all sense and motion. They looked upon each other, as if each was in hopes of finding that counsel and refuge in their companion, which they had not in themselves.

Afterwards when they saw that the Consuls tents were pitching, and that some soldiers were preparing instruments for breaking ground, and throwing up intrenchments, though they rightly perceived, that their utter incapacity of finding any resource, or means for defending themselves, was upon the point of exposing their works to the enemy's laughter ; however, not to add by their own fault to all the misfortunes with which they were overwhelmed, each on his own side, without being exhorted or ordered by any one, applied himself to fortify the camp along the side of a brook, owning at the same time not without shame and grief, that all the pains they took were entirely vain ; besides which the enemy from the tops of the mountains rallied them bitterly to that effect. The Consuls thought it to no purpose to assemble the council of war. The

A. R. 433.  
Ant. C. 319.

principal officers came to them of themselves : and the soldiers in throngs at the same time demanded an aid from their generals, which, says Livy, they could hardly hope from the gods. The council passed in uncertain confused opinions. Every one judged according to his genius and disposition. Some were for endeavouring to force the barricadoes, or to climb the mountains. Others represented the impossibility of succeeding either in the one or the other of those attempts. These reflections employed them the whole night, without their thinking either of nourishment or repose, and without being able to conclude any thing.

The Samnites, on their side, were in no less perplexity, but of a different kind, not knowing what choice they should make, in order to improve so happy an occasion as the present to the utmost. As they could not determine this point themselves, they resolved to send to consult Herennius Pontius, the general's father, upon it. He was very much advanced in years, and had renounced not only all military, but all other affairs and employments whatsoever. However, in a body infirm with age, he retained a lively wit and solid judgment. When therefore he was informed, that the Romans were shut up in the defiles of Caudium, he answered the person who came from his son to consult him, that his advice was, to let them all depart as soon as possible without the least hurt. This advice was rejected by every body, and persons were sent to him again to know, whether he had nothing better to say. To this second deputation he advised, that they should kill the Romans, and not let a single man of them escape.

Answers so opposite, which resembled the obscurity of oracles, occasioned great surprize. A. R. 433.  
Ant. C. 319.

They appeared to several, and in particular to the son of Herennius (who does not seem very respectful on this occasion to his father) as marks of the weakness of his years. It was however resolved, that he should come to the camp. The good old man consented, and when he was in the council, adhered to the two opinions he had given before, contenting himself with adding the reasons for them. He said, “ That in following the first, which seemed the best to him, they gained the eternal amity of a powerful people by a signal benefaction. That if they preferred the second, they would make the Romans incapable of taking the field against them a great while, and would weaken them exceedingly by the loss of two armies, which it would be very difficult for them to retrieve. That there was no third choice to make.” *How, said somebody, is there no medium? Can we not give them their lives, but not till after having imposed such terms upon them, as the right of war admits to prescribe the conquered. That is exactly the means,* replied Herennius, *neither to make yourselves friends, nor to deliver yourselves from your enemies. Let the Romans live after having enraged them by shame and ignominy: they are a people, that know not how to lie still, even when defeated: The remembrance of the indignities, which their present necessity shall have reduced them to undergo, will remain eternally engraven in their hearts, and will not suffer them to give themselves a moment’s rest, till they have avenged themselves in a distinguished manner, and made themselves amends with interest.* These reasons were not approved, and Herennius was reconducted home.

A. R. 433.  
Ant. C. 519.

The sequel will shew how much in the right that old man was, for rejecting the mediums of a false and timorous policy, which usually, whilst it intends to accommodate every thing for the best, remedies nothing, and satisfies no body.

The Ro-  
mans are  
reduced to  
necessity to  
accept the  
hard con-  
ditions im-  
posed on  
them.  
Liv. l. 9.  
c. 4, 6.

The Romans during this interval, had made several ineffectual attempts to break their prison, if we may use that expression. At length conquered by necessity, and beginning to be in want of every thing, they sent deputies to Pontius, to demand either an honourable peace, or a battle. Pontius replied haughtily, “ That the war was at an end ; and that since, though  
“ conquered and shut up on all sides as they were,  
“ they did not yet know how either to under-  
“ stand or confess their defeat, he would de-  
“ clare to them the conditions, upon which he  
“ should not be averse to treating with them.”  
That they should all pass under the yoke with-  
out arms, each of them only with one \* habit.  
That in other respects all things should be e-  
qual between the victors and the vanquished.  
That the Romans should oblige themselves to  
draw off their armies and colonies from the  
country of the Samnites ; and that the two  
States should live according to their own laws,  
independent of each other.

When this answer was carried back to the Roman camp, it occasioned as heavy lamenta-  
tion, and as lively grief, as if sentence of im-  
mediate death had been passed upon the army.  
A mournful silence long took place in the  
council, and the Consuls did not dare to open

\* This expression, which often recurs in history, signifies, that the soldiers were allowed to keep only their un-  
dermost garment, almost as if one should say amongst the moderns, only their shirts.

their

their lips, shocked on one side by the shame of accepting such a treaty, and on the other by the absolute necessity of submitting to it. At length L. Lentulus, the most considerable of the general officers, took upon him to speak, and gave his opinion in the following terms.

A. R. 433.  
Ant. C. 319.

*Consuls, I have often heard my father say, that when the Senate, besieged by the Gauls in the Capitol, deliberated upon the choice they had to make, he was the only one who was against ransoming the city with money, because the enemy had not shut them up within the fosses and intrenchments, and they could make a sally, not indeed without great danger, but however without certain destruction. If the case were the same now with us, and we could in any manner whatsoever come to blows with the enemy, I should be the first to propose my father's generosity to our example. I know that it is glorious to die for one's country, and am ready either to devote myself to death for the Roman People and our legions, or to throw myself into the midst of the enemy's battalions. But I see here our whole country; I see all our troops: and unless they desire to perish for themselves, what can they save by their deaths? The walls, says somebody, the houses of Rome, and that weak and timorous multitude, which inhabit them? On the contrary to cut off this army is delivering up the rest to the enemy, and not saving it. All the resources, all the force of the Roman People are here. In saving these troops, we save our country: in exposing them to certain death, we abandon and betray it. But, says somebody again, it is great shame, great ignominy, to surrender in this manner without giving battle. I grant it is so. But our country ought to be dear enough to be preferred, not only to the preservation of our lives, but even to that of*  
our

A. R. 431. *our honour, if there be occasion to make it that*  
 AEL. C. 319. *sacrifice. Let us not therefore refuse ourselves to*  
*this disgrace, how great soever it may be, and*  
*let us submit to necessity, over which not the gods*  
*themselves have power. Go, Consuls, go to the*  
*enemy; and since it must be so, deliver up our*  
*arms, to ransom at that price our country, which*  
*our ancestors ransomed at the price of gold.*

It was absolutely necessary to take this counsel. The Consuls went to the camp of the Samnites to conclude the negociation. Pontius insisted upon a treaty: but it was represented to him, that in order to that, the authority of the Roman People and Senate was necessary: and he was so imprudent and void of caution, as to content himself with the bare promise of the Consuls and principal officers of the army, to observe, and cause to be observed, the articles they had agreed upon. The only precaution he took, was to have six hundred hostages, of the principal persons of the Roman youth, put into his hands, who were to answer with their heads for the observance of the conditions just stipulated. There was no formal treaty at Caudium: which the sequel makes an important remark.

The Consuls returned to the camp, where their arrival renewed the universal grief and despair. The soldiers could scarce refrain from laying violent hands upon unworthy generals, whose rashness had brought them into that unfortunate place, and whose abject fear was upon the point of making them quit it in a more shameful manner than they had come thither: who had neither thought of taking guides, nor viewing the country, but marching headlong, like brute beasts, had precipitated themselves and their armies into the snare. They beheld each other with mournful looks, whilst their thoughts

thoughts were employed upon the arms they were going to deliver up, their hands upon the point of being disarmed, and their bodies at the discretion of the enemy. They formed to themselves the idea of the shameful yoke under which they were to pass, the insults and contemptuous looks of the victors, and the lines of armed enemies through which they were to pass: afterwards their deplorable march through the allied cities, who would be witnesses of their infamy: and lastly, their sad return into their country, whither themselves and their ancestors had so often returned in triumph. They represented to themselves, that no misfortune ever equalled theirs: that they were the only troops who were ever conquered without wounds, without battle, without resistance: that they had not so much as been allowed to draw their swords, and to come to blows with the enemy: that it was to no purpose they had arms, strength, valour, of which they had not room to make the least use.

Whilst they were making these sad reflections, arrived the fatal hour, in which they were to experience their misfortunes in all their extent, and to be convinced, that the reality still exceeded all they had imagined of them. At first they were made to quit their intrenchments without arms, and each with only a single habit. The six hundred hostages were delivered to the Samnites, and conducted to prison. The Lictors were afterwards ordered to quit the Consuls, who at the same time were stripped of the ornaments of their dignity. At that sight, the sentiments of the Roman soldiers were so much changed in respect to their generals, that, instead of having them in execration as a little before, and almost desiring that they might be delivered up to the enemy or torn in pieces, they

A. R. 433.  
Ant. C. 319.

A. R. 433.  
A. R. C. 519.

they were now moved with the most tender compassion for them, and forgetting their own evils, turned away their eyes, to avoid seeing the mournful sight of the Consular dignity so dishonoured in their persons. The Consuls almost half naked, passed first under the yoke: then the principal officers, each according to his rank in the army: and lastly, the legions one after another. The Samnites were under arms, drawn up in two lines on each side, and loading the unhappy Romans with reproaches and insults. They often put even their naked swords to their faces, and wounded, and killed some of them, at whom they took offence, on observing in them too much loftiness and resentment of the ignominy imposed on them.

*Perseus found  
the bodies of  
the Romans  
taken  
at the foot of  
Capua.  
and after  
a short  
time they  
re-entered  
Rome.  
Liv. l. 9.  
c. 6, 7.*

They quitted the defile, after having 'passed under the yoke, and what was still more mortifying to them, the having done so in the sight of the enemy. At that moment, though they imagined themselves like men, who from darkness and dungeons begin to see the light of heaven, that very light however, which discovered the ignominious march of their army, appeared more mournful than the most cruel death. They might have reached Capua before night, which was an allied city. But suspecting the fidelity of the Campanians, and in effect of shame, they chose rather to lie down upon the earth on the way near the city, in absolute want of all things.

When the Campanians were informed of this, a just sense of compassion for their allies and benefactors prevailed over their natural pride. They immediately sent Lictors and fasces, with the other marks of their dignity to the Consuls; and to the legions, arms, horses, habits, and provisions. When the Romans came to the city,  
the

the Senate and People of Capua came out to meet them, and discharged all the duties to them of hospitality and alliance. But neither their careffes, all the proofs of amity which they gave them, nor the terms of consolation which they used, could induce them either to answer, raise their eyes from the ground, or so much as look upon those who endeavoured to mitigate their anguish. Sorrow, and shame still more, made them shun all company and conversation.

The next day they set out for Rome, and the Campanians sent some youth of quality to attend them as far as the confines of their territory. When those young persons returned, they were brought to the Senate, and upon being asked in what condition they had left the Romans, they answered, “ That they seemed much more sad  
 “ and dejected than before: that they marched  
 “ in silence and almost like mutes: that the  
 “ Roman Spirit was no longer to be seen in  
 “ them; and that they seemed to have lost their  
 “ courage with their arms: that they returned  
 “ salutes to no body, and made no answer to  
 “ the civilities shewn them: that struck with  
 “ terror, not one of them dared to open his  
 “ lips, as if they still carried upon their heads  
 “ the yoke under which they had passed. That  
 “ the Samnites had not only obtained a glorious  
 “ victory, but had conquered the Romans for  
 “ ever, as they had taken and subjected, not  
 “ their city, as the Gauls did formerly, but  
 “ their valour, and haughtiness, a much greater  
 “ and more arduous conquest.”

Upon this report, the Senators of Capua, like good and faithful allies, deplored the fate of the Romans, whom they considered as irretrievably ruined; when Ofilius Calavius, one of the principal persons of their body, a person illustrious  
 for

A. R. 413.  
Ant. C. 319.

A. R. 473.  
A. M. C. 519.

for his birth and great actions, and venerable for his age, said, he was of a very different opinion, and spoke as follows. “ That the  
“ obstinate silence, downcast eyes, obstinate  
“ refusal to receive any consolation, and lively  
“ sense of shame, which made them desire to  
“ hide themselves from the day, and shun the  
“ light, were only so many marks of the vio-  
“ lent rage they retained at heart, and which  
“ was preparing to vent itself in the most  
“ dreadful vengeance. That, either he had  
“ no knowledge of the Romans, or that  
“ gloomy silence would undoubtedly soon cost  
“ the Samnites the most lamentable cries and  
“ groans, and that the remembrance of the  
“ *Furcæ Caudinæ* would be more mournful  
“ to the victors than the vanquished. That  
“ wherever they met, the two States would  
“ bring with them to battle their whole force  
“ and courage : but that the Samnites would  
“ not find the defiles of Caudium every where.”

During this interval the report of what had past at Caudium, had reached Rome. They had been apprized at first of the extreme danger of the army unhappily shut in between two defiles, and had instantly began to levy troops. Soon after arrived the news of the shameful peace that had been concluded, the consternation was exceedingly great. A stop was put to the levies : and people put on all the marks of publick mourning, as was the custom in great calamities. The shops were shut, and the administration of justice suspended. To say all in a word, the city was almost in greater grief than the army itself. It was not only incensed against the generals, and the authors and ratifiers of that ignominious peace, but even against the innocent soldiers ; so that it was al-  
most

most ready to forbid them entering the city. But the condition in which they arrived, the sight of that deplorable army, capable of touching the most enraged with compassion, stifled all resentment. They entered in the evening, not like people, who having contrary to their hopes escaped great danger, revisit their country, but with all the dejection and consternation of prisoners of war, carried by their conquerors into an enemy's city. They all immediately went to hide themselves in their own houses, so that the next, and the following days, not one of them appeared in the Forum, or even any where in public. The Consuls themselves exercised their office no farther, than only, by the order of the Senate, to declare a Dictator, in order to proceed to the election of new Consuls. After the creation of a Dictator, and an interregnum, L. Papirius Cursor and Q. Publilius Philo were given them for successors. They were unanimously elected as indisputably the two greatest generals Rome had at that time.

A. R. 437.  
Ant. C. 319.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

A. R. 434.  
Ant. C. 318.

Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.

They entered upon office the same day they were created, and began the exercise of it by bringing the important affair of the peace of Caudium upon the carpet. Postumius, Consul of the preceding year, being to give his opinion first, did so in the most generous manner possible. He shewed, “ That the Senate and “ People of Rome were not obliged to observe articles concluded without their consent “ with the Samnites. That it was an incontestable principle, that neither the Consuls, “ nor any other magistrate, could conclude a “ treaty with the enemy, without being impow-  
“ ered

*The Senate  
assembles.  
The Con-  
vention by  
the advice  
of Postu-  
mus one of  
the Consuls  
is declared  
void.*

Liv. l. 9.  
c. 8—11.

A. R. 434.  
Ant. C. 518.

ered to do so by the Senate and People.  
 “ That otherwise it would follow, if they had  
 “ promised the Roman people should abandon  
 “ Rome, that they should no longer have either  
 “ laws, magistrates, or Senate, and that from  
 “ thenceforth they should be governed by  
 “ Kings ; the commonwealth would be bound  
 “ by such promises. For, added he, the rigor  
 “ and indignity of the conditions, to which  
 “ one submits, does not lessen the obligation  
 “ to perform them. That it was not necessary  
 “ to ask him, wherefore then he had consented  
 “ to that treaty. (a) That nothing had passed  
 “ at Caudium according to the usual rules of  
 “ human prudence, and that it was evident the  
 “ gods had blinded the generals of both people.  
 “ That, to speak only of the Samnites, they  
 “ might, instead of consulting old Herenni-  
 “ us, have sent deputies to Rome, to nego-  
 “ ciate a peace with the Senate and People ;  
 “ that it was a journey of three days : but that  
 “ the gods had deprived both sides in this af-  
 “ fair of the use of sense and reason. He  
 “ concluded that this pretended treaty held on-  
 “ ly those, who had made themselves the gua-  
 “ rantees of it, at the head of whom he was.  
 “ That it was necessary therefore to deliver  
 “ them all up to the Samnites, in consequence  
 “ of which the Roman people might with  
 “ strict justice, resume their arms.” And last  
 of all, he addressed a prayer full of the most  
 heroick sentiments to the gods. *Immortal gods,*  
 said he, *if it was your will, that Sp. Postumius*  
*and F. Veturius should not make war with the*  
*Samnites successfully during their Consulship, at*

(a) Nihil ad Caudium hu- hostium imperatoribus men-  
 manis consiliis gestum est. tem ademerunt. Liv.  
 Dii immortales & vestris &

*least be satisfied with having seen us contract an infamous engagement, and in consequence pass shamefully under the yoke; with having seen us actually delivered up to the enemy like criminals, naked and in chains, and receiving their whole vengeance on our heads. Grant that the new Consuls and Roman Legions may fight against the Samnites with the same success, as the Consuls our predecessors have always had in all other wars.*

The whole Senate admired Postumius's discourse, and followed his advice in every particular. Two magistrates were however of a contrary opinion. They were of the number of those who had signed the peace at Caudium; and after their return to Rome, had been created Tribunes of the People. In that quality they were for opposing the decree of the Senate, pretending, that to follow Postumius's advice, was repugnant to justice and the faith of treaties; and after all, as to what related to themselves in particular, as their persons were sacred, they would not be delivered up to the enemy. *Let us however, us the profane,* resumed Postumius, *be delivered up. Afterwards, Fathers, you may deliver up these venerable men, these sacred personages, when the term of their magistracy is expired. But, if you will take my opinion, before they are put into the hands of the Samnites, you will do well to have them scourged well with rods here, by way of making them pay interest for the delay.* He then refuted at large the insinuations of those Tribunes, who at length complied with his advice, and submitted to the will of the Senate.

The decree, which was passed with unanimous consent, diffused a kind of joy and serenity throughout the city. Nothing was talked of but Postumius: every body gave him the

A. R. 454.  
Ann. C. 313.

highest praises, and compared his generosity to that of Decius, who had devoted himself for his country. They said, “ That by his salutary counsel, and greatness of soul, he had disengaged Rome from the obligation of a shameful peace ; and that in giving himself up to torments and the fury of the enemy, he had expiated and appeased that of the gods against the Romans.” They breathed nothing now but war and arms. Every one wished the day for coming to blows with the Samnites might soon arrive. The levies were made with incredible expedition in a city animated with hatred against the Samnites, and an ardent desire of revenge. They were new-raised legions (for at the end of every campaign in those days all the troops were disbanded) but they consisted of the same soldiers who had served the year before. The army set out immediately and marched for Caudium.

*Postumius with his colleague, and all who signed the convention, are delivered up to Pontius, who refuses to receive them.*

Before they arrived there, all who had signed the treaty, were delivered up to the General of the Samnites by an herald ; *Fecialis* : (that is, a priest of the college that presided in the ceremonies used in declarations of war, and treaties of peace.) On this occasion, Postumius did an action, which in a right acceptation, ought to pass for a grimace unworthy of his gravity, and which shews, how much even the purest ideas of the pagan world concerning religion were blended with superstition and absurdity. He went up to the *Fecialis*, and gave him as hard a blow as he could with his knee (*for his hands were bound*) adding that he (Postumius) was now a Samnite ; that the herald was an ambassador ; that therefore the law of nations had been violated by the blow, which the *Fecialis* had just received ; and that the Romans would have the  
more

more legitimate cause for making war in effect of it. What puerility was this !

A. R. 434.  
An. C. 318.

Pontius refused to receive those delivered up to him. He bitterly reproached the Romans with their impious contempt of the sanctity of oaths and treaties, whilst they (a) boasted themselves the religious observers of them, and were at bottom only attentive to cover their breach of faith with the veil and under the appearance of equity. *How !* said he, *in consequence of our mutual convention you have all your citizens, whom I could have destroyed, and have restored to you : And am I not to have the peace stipulated with you, which was to have been the fruit of it ? If the treaty of Caudium displeases you, place things in the same state they were before it was concluded. To act as the Romans now do, is to insult the gods, and to reckon their anger as nothing. But I mistake. You may boldly make war, and be assured of their protection, since Postumius has given your ambassador a blow with his knee. The gods no doubt will believe Postumius a Samnite and not a Roman ; that a Samnite has violated the law of nations ; and that in consequence you may with justice make war against us.* (b) *Is it possible that old men, consular persons, should not be ashamed to make a jest of religion by such little tricks, and to employ, in order to find a pretence for breaking their faith, acts and evasions scarce worthy of children ?* Pontius afterwards ordered the chains and bands to be taken off all the Romans delivered up to him, and that they

(a) Nunquam ne causa deficiet, cur victi pacto non stentis ? — Et semper aliquam fraudi juris speciem imponentis. Liv.

(b) Hæc ludibria religionum non pudere in lucem proferre, & vix pueris dignas ambages senes ac consulares fallende fidei exquirere. Liv.

A. R. 434.  
Ant. C. 318.

should be left at entire liberty. (a) They returned, says Livy, having perhaps discharged the publick faith, but certainly clear of the engagements themselves had entered into.

Livy, however jealous he is of the glory and reputation of the Romans, dares not affirm, that they were in the right not to execute the treaty of Caudium ; and he seems sensible that there is something in their conduct not entirely conformable to that strict justice and faith, upon which they valued themselves. It must however be owned, the reasons that Historian puts into the mouth of Postumius, are very solid and convincing, and that a treaty, concluded without the authority of the Senate and People, was void and of no force in itself. We have in our History of France, an example much like the case before us. The Swifs having besieged Dijon about the end of the reign of Lewis XII. Mons. de la Tremouille, who commanded in the place, defended it bravely during six weeks. But finding that the place could not hold out, and that the victors after the taking of Dijon would have nothing to prevent them from marching to Paris, he entered into a negotiation with them upon his own private authority, and granted them all they demanded. The Swifs retired in effect. But the King did not think himself obliged to observe a treaty, which had been made without his order : and nobody accused the good King Lewis XII of breach of faith on that account.

(a) Et illi quidem, forsitan & publica, sua certè liberata fide, ab Caudio in castra Romana inviolati redierunt. *Liv.*

We must observe that (a) the convention made at Caudium, was not a treaty, but only the promise of a treaty, in case the Roman people should come into it. And it was for this reason, that the Samnites took so many precautions, in causing it to be signed by the Consuls and all the great officers of the army, and keeping six hundred hostages. But could they imagine, that the Roman people would ever ratify such a convention. It was observed with reason, that there was nothing human in what passed at Caudium, and that the divinity blinded the generals on both sides, and deprived them of all prudence, to punish the faults committed also on both sides. The Samnites had broke the truce: (b) they acknowledged themselves, that their defeat was the chastisement of their perfidy. They make entire satisfaction for it to the Romans, which the latter reject with pride and haughtiness. The Romans are punished in their turn by all that happens at Caudium. So compleat an advantage makes the Samnites proud, and at the same time blinds them. They reject the counsels of the wisest man amongst them with contempt. They never once think of sending deputies to Rome, to have the treaty ratified there, and by these faults lose the advantage of their victory. If we examine the events of most wars, we discern the same conduct of providence in them. It is a reproach to us, that the Pagans are more enlightened and religious than we on this article. Their great principle was, that, in

A. R. 434.  
Ant. C. 318.

(a) Non fœdere pax Caudina, sed per sponfionem facta est. *Liv.*

contra fœdus suscepto, infestioribus meritò diis quàm hominibus, nihil prosperè agerent. *Liv.*

(b) Minime id quidem mirum, si impio bello, &

N 3

wars,



A. R. 434.  
Ant. C. 313.

wars, and generally in all the actions of life, the important point is to place the divinity on our side, in the justice of our cause. *Rerum humanarum maximum momentum est, quam propitiis rem, quam adversis agant diis.*

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When the Samnites, instead of a peace which had rendered them so haughty, saw the war ready to break out more terribly than ever, they represented to themselves all the evils they were going to sustain, and perceived too late, the irretrievable fault they had committed, in rejecting the wise counsels of Herennius. These reflections were not of a nature to augment their courage. They reckoned themselves conquered, as soon as attacked; whereas the Romans assured themselves of victory, as soon as they could come to blows with the enemy.

Liv. l. 9.

c 22—23.

c 22—23.

c 22—23.

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In the interval since the convention of Caudium, Luceria had fallen into the hands of the Samnites, who had shut up the six hundred Roman knights in it, given them as hostages. They soon after took Fregellæ a Roman colony, and it was believed, that the people of Satricum had assisted them in that expedition.

The Roman Consuls having agreed between themselves upon their provinces, Papirius made his troops advance into Apulia towards Luceria, and Publilius led his into the country of the Samnites, against those who had been employed at Caudium. This disposition of the Roman troops perplexed the Samnites. They were afraid to march towards Luceria, lest the enemy should attack them in the rear; and to remain in Samnium, lest Luceria should be taken in the mean while. They therefore resolved to offer Publilius battle, and accordingly drew up to attack him.

The

The Consul, on his side, made his troops advance. He would have harangued them before the battle, in order to prepare them for it ; but they would not give him time : the remembrance of their past disgrace being the strongest and most cogent of exhortations to them. The soldiers accordingly marched on to battle, pushing their standard-bearers forward ; and not to lose time, threw down their javelins, as if by consent, and ran sword in hand upon the enemy. The care and orders of the general to post and make them keep their ranks, were entirely ineffectual : the ardor of the soldiers did every thing. The Samnites in consequence could not sustain so rude a shock. They were not only put into disorder, but dared not even retire to their camp, through fear of retarding their flight, and they dispersed on all sides into Apulia. Soon after however reuniting in a body they arrived at Luceria. As to the Romans, they entered the camp with the same fury, as they had broke the enemy's battalions, where they made a greater slaughter than in the battle itself. Their rage made them spoil the greatest part of their plunder.

The other army, under the command of Papirius, was arrived at the city of Arpi; having found every thing favourable and quiet on their way, less through consideration for the Romans, than hatred for the Samnites, who oppressed the whole country. For the Samnites, divided into different villages, inhabited the mountains from whence they came down and ravaged all the flat country: and if that country, situate between Rome and Arpi, had continued faithful to the Samnites, one of two things would have happened; either the Romans could not have penetrated

A. R. 434.  
A.M.C. 518.

trated into Apulia ; or if they had forced their way thither, they could not have avoided perishing, because their provisions would have been cut off, and all their convoys intercepted. And however, notwithstanding all the facility of the inhabitants of the country, when they were before Luceria, besiegers as they were, they almost suffered as much from famine, as the besieged. Provisions came to the Romans from Arpi, but in very small quantities. As to the besieged, before the arrival of the Consul Publilius, they had received provisions and troops. But after the two Roman armies joined each other, they were much more distressed ; because Publilius, leaving the care of the siege to his colleague, kept the country, and prevented any provisions from entering the place ; so that it could not hold out long against the famine. The Samnites encamped near Luceria, having drawn all their troops together, resolved to come to an action with Papirius.

Whilst both sides were preparing for a battle arrived Deputies from Tarentum, signifying to the Samnites and Romans, that they should desist from all acts of hostility, and protesting, that they would declare against that of the two people who should refuse to comply. Papirius after having heard their proposal, replied, as if it had made some impression upon him, that he would consult his colleague about it. Accordingly he made him advance with his troops, and having made all the necessary dispositions for the battle, whilst they affected to be in deliberation with each other upon a matter wherein they had entirely taken their resolution, he gave the signal. The Deputies in a great surprize, repared to them, demanding their answer. *We have that of the gods, says Papirius : the auspices are favourable, and our sacrifices accepted :*

*it is under their guidance, and according to the order of them, that we are now marching to give battle.* A. R. 434.  
Ant. C. 312.

He then made his troops move; justly reproaching the senseless pride of a State, which though it could neither give order to its own affairs, nor pacify its domestick troubles, took upon it to give others the law with an air of command and superiority. The Samnites, who did not expect to fight, declared with a loud voice, that they accepted the proposal of the Tarentines, and would not come to a battle. The Consuls in the mean time advanced continually, and dividing their troops attacked the camp on all sides. Some filled the fosses, others pulled up the pallisades. Animated with a desire of vengeance, and of washing out the stain they had received in the blood of the Samnites, they entered the camp with the utmost fury, and put all they met to the sword. Nothing would have escaped their rage, if the Consuls by repeated orders mingled with menaces, had not forced them to quit the enemy's camp. As they did not suffer themselves to be prevented from satiating their revenge without great reluctance and murmuring, the Consuls thought it necessary to give them an account of their conduct. They represented to them:

“ That they did not give place to themselves  
 “ in hatred for the Samnites, and that they  
 “ would not have set bounds to the just fury of  
 “ the soldiers, if the remembrance of the six hundred knights detained as hostages in Luceria  
 “ had not obliged them to it, through fear  
 “ lest the Samnites, if reduced to despair,  
 “ should put them all to death, before they  
 “ perished themselves.” The soldiers approved these reasons. Their complaints were changed into praises and thanks for having put a stop to

to

A. R. 434.  
 A. C. 318.

to their rage. They confessed that there was nothing they ought not to suffer rather than abandon so estimable a part of the Roman youth to destruction.

The Consuls then separated. Publilius overran Apulia, and subjected several States, some by force, and others by receiving them into alliance of the Roman People. Papirius remained before Luceria, and cutting off all convoys from Samnium, soon reduced it to capitulate. The garrison sent Deputies to the Consul, to demand that he would raise the siege after the six hundred Roman knights, who were the cause of the war, should be delivered up to him. He agreed to it upon the following conditions: That the arms, baggage, carriage-beasts, and the whole multitude incapable of bearing arms, should be left in the city; that the soldiers should quit it each only in a single habit, and that they should all pass under the yoke, a treatment which they had been the first to make the Romans suffer. All these conditions were accepted. Seven thousand soldiers passed under the yoke. The plunder was very considerable. All the ensigns and arms that had been lost at Caudium were retaken; and what occasioned the most sensible joy, the six hundred knights kept at Luceria were recovered. In all the history of the Roman People, there scarce occurs a more glorious victory, or one more remarkable for a sudden reverse of fortune, especially if it be true, as some Historians have observed, that Pontius the general of the Samnites, passed also under the yoke. The Consuls returned to Rome in triumph, and were received there with great joy.

There

There is however some uncertainty in respect to a year so glorious for the Romans. It is doubted, whether it was by the Consuls, or by a Dictator, expressly nominated for this war, that it was so happily terminated. It is to be believed, that Livy judged the opinion he has followed in his account of it the most probable.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, III.

A. R. 434.  
Ant. C. 318.

Q. AULIUS CERETANUS, II.

The Consuls divided their troops. The one marched into Apulia where he conquered the Ferentani, and took their city. The other marched against Satricum. This was a Roman colony, which, after the affair of Caudium, had received a garrison from the Samnites. It was retaken by the Romans, and treated with severity. The most criminal lost their lives, and all the inhabitants were disarmed.

According to the Authors, who ascribe the taking of Luceria and the defeat of the Samnites that passed under the yoke, to Papirius Cursor, it was not till this year, and after the last mentioned expeditions, that he obtained the honour of a triumph. He was a general of great ability in war, and distinguished not only by courage and intrepidity, but by extraordinary strength of body. He was swifter in running than any of his time, and always carried the prize in that kind of exercise against all who entered the lists with him. This is what occasioned the surname of \* *Cursor*, *Runner*, to be given, or rather confirmed

*Praise of  
Papirius  
Cursor.*

\* Livy mentions another was called also Cursor. Lib. 6. c. 5. & l. 9. c. 34.  
*Papirius, who was probably the grandfather of this, and*

A. R. 435.  
A. U. C. 317.

to him. He ate much, and drank in proportion, which was attributed to his robust constitution and the great exercise he used. The service was rude under him, because he was accustomed and enured to labour himself. He was also severe in respect to discipline. A story pleasant enough is told of him : A Prætor of Præneste who served amongst the allies, having received orders in a battle, to make his troops advance to the front ranks, had obeyed slowly, and with little ardor, through fear of the danger. Papirius walking before that officer's tent, ordered him to come to him. As soon as he saw him appear, he bade the Licitor get ready his ax. The Prænestine at that word, was seized all over with a tremor. Papirius, who intended only to frighten him, said to the Licitor : *Here, cut away this root, that is in our way ;* and only fined him. The Prætor withdrew, well satisfied with coming off for a small sum of money. Livy concludes the character and praise of Papirius with saying, that in an age, fruitful of great men, if ever any was so, he was the firmest support of the Roman power and greatness, and that he would have been capable of opposing Alexander the Great, if that Prince, after the conquest of Asia, had turned his arms against Europe.

## S E C T. II.

*Engraving, wherein Livy examines what would probably have happened, if Alexander the Great had turned his arms against the Romans, after the conquest of Asia. Different wars against the Samnites. A Magistrate sent from Rome to govern Capua. Institution of two new Tribes. The Dictator Metellus, reproached with being guilty*

guilty of the same crime, for which he actually prosecuted others, abdicates the Dictatorship, and justifies himself before the judges. Famous Censorship of Appius and Plautius. Appian way: Aqueduct. Family of the Potitii extinct. Tribunes of the legions elected by the People, as well as the *Duumviri* for the fleet. Players on the flute reinstated in their rights. Samnites defeated. War against the *Hetrurians*: considerable victories gained by the Romans. They grant the *Hetrurians* a truce for thirty years. Bloody battle between the Romans and the Samnites, which obliges the former to appoint a Dictator. The Consul Fabius nominates Papirius Cursor. The latter marches against the enemy. New victory gained by Fabius over the *Hetrurians*. Extraordinary preparations of the Samnites. The Umbrians threaten to march and attack Rome. They are defeated by Fabius. The *Æqui* are overcome and almost entirely destroyed. C. Flavius the Register, son of a freedman, is made *Curule Ædile*. He makes publick the *Fasti* or Juridical-days, of which only the Pontiffs had the keeping. He dedicates a temple notwithstanding their opposition. The Nobility endeavour to mortify him; his revenge. Fabius includes all the lower class of the People in four Tribes only. Solemn review of the Knights.

**L**IVY, upon the occasion of what he had just said of Papirius Cursor and Alexander, suspends the thread of his history for a while, but first makes his excuse to his Reader, and asks his permission. (a) It may be observed, says

(a) Nihil minus quasi videri potest, quam ut plus tum à principio hujus operis Julio ab rebus actis declinationem,

A. R. 475.  
Ant. C. 317.  
Liv. l. 4.  
c. 17—19.

A. R. 455.  
 Ant. C. 317.

says he, *that from the beginning of this work I have proposed nothing less to myself, than to interrupt the series of my narrative, and the order of my facts, for the sake of throwing variety into my history by digressions, to amuse my reader agreeably, and give myself some relaxation. But having had occasion to mention that great King and Captain, I am in a manner invited naturally enough to give the reflections which have often entered into my thoughts in respect to him a place here, and to enquire what event the Romans might have expected, if Alexander had turned his arms against them.*

I do not doubt but my readers willingly grant Livy the permission he demands of imparting to them his thoughts upon so affecting a subject: I only fear they may have room to regret, that so excellent an historian has not a better interpreter to render his thoughts with more justness and elegance. I shall retrench what does not seem absolutely necessary from this digression.

*Comparison between Alexander and the Romans.*

What determines the event of wars, says Livy, is the genius and ability of the generals, the number and bravery of the troops, and Fortune\*, which can dispose of all things in human affairs, and principally in the success of arms. In examining the question proposed under these

narem, & legentibus velut  
 diverticula amœna, & requi-  
 em animo meo quærerem.  
 Tamen tanti regis ac ducis  
 mentio, quibus sæpe tacitis  
 cogitationibus volutavi ani-  
 mam, eas evocat in medium :  
 ut quærere libeat, quinam

eventus Romanis rebus, si  
 cum Alexandro foret bella-  
 tum, futurus fuerit.

\* *The Pagans admitted a Providence, which disposes all human events : but they often gave it the name of Fortune.*

three points of view, one finds no difficulty to conclude, that the Romans would have been no less invincible to Alexander the Great, than they were to all the other Kings and States of the Universe.

A. R. 435.  
Ant. C. 347.

I. *First*, To begin by comparing generals, Alexander cannot be denied to have been a great warrior. But what very much contributed to augment his glory, was his being alone, and having no colleague to share in his successes ; and also, his dying in the flower of his youth, and in the midst of his greatest victories, before he had experienced any adversity. Not to mention abundance of other Kings and generals, who have been great examples of the variety and uncertainty of human events, was it not too long life, that exposed \* Cyrus so much extolled by the Greeks, and the great Pompey of our times, to the sad vicissitudes of fortune ?

Livy opposes to Alexander the Roman generals, who lived in the time when the war between him and the commonwealth might have happened : Valerius Corvus, Manlius Torquatus, Papirius Cursor, Fabius Maximus, and many others. Each of those whom I have now mentioned were Alexander's equals both in valour and genius. And as to the knowledge of the art military, it had been transmitted successively from the Kings down to the times of which I am speaking, always upon the same principles ; so that the knowledge of the rules, improved by constant practice, had formed them into a science, in which the persons who were then at the head of the armies, were perfectly versed.

\* *Livy here follows the opinion of those, who imagined that Cyrus perished miserably* in his expedition against *Tomyris Queen of the Scythians.*

A. R. 431.  
A. M. C. 517.

Alexander had acquired abundance of reputation by his indefatigable patience in military labours, by his boldness and intrepidity, and the prodigies of his personal valour, which contributed so much to his glory. Can we believe that the Roman generals gave place to him in these points? A Manlius Torquatus, a Valerius Corvus, both brave soldiers, before they commanded the armies? The Decii, father and son, who threw themselves into the midst of the enemy, after having devoted themselves to death : a Papirius Cursor, so renowned for the greatness of his courage, supported by an incredible strength of body. Can one imagine, that Alexander would have had more ability than all these illustrious Romans, in choosing his camps advantageously, in facilitating and securing his convoys of provisions, in avoiding ambuscades, in seizing the favourable moment for giving battle, in drawing up an army, and in disposing the reserved troops for the support of it? The Romans excelled in all those parts of military knowledge.

But as to what regards the maturity of counsels, prudence and ability in forming a plan, and directing all the operations of a campaign according to that plan, upon which properly the whole success of enterprizes depends : would a young prince like Alexander, have surpassed the august body of the Roman Senate, composed of a great number of venerable old men, versed in the trade of war by a long and happy experience, attended with frequent victories : a Body of which one cannot form a juster idea, than that which Cineas gave Pyrrhus of it, when he told him, that the Roman Senate appeared to him like an assembly of Kings?

When

When Alexander had found such generals against him, he would soon (a) have perceived, that he had no longer a Darius to deal with, a generous prince indeed, but enervated by voluptuousness, who drew along with him to the war great troops of women and eunuchs, all glittering with gold and purple, and unweildy from the train and trappings of his luxury and grandeur; in a word, rather a certain prey, than a formidable enemy, whose defeat cost Alexander no more than to know how to despise a vain vastness of preparations void of real force. He would have found a great difference between the Indias, which he passed with his troops more like frantic Bacchanalians than an army, himself setting the example of the debauch, and Italy, where the woods and defiles of Apulia, and the mountains of the Lucanians, would have presented him with the still recent footsteps of the blood of his uncle Alexander King of Epirus, who perished there much about this time.

(b) And, adds Livy, I speak of Alexander whilst in his senses, sober and virtuous, before prosperity had corrupted him, a poison none ever knew less how to secure himself against. If we consider him in his new grandeur, and the new character he assumed after his victories, we may say, that he would have come to Italy

(a) Non cum Dario rem esse dixisset, quem mulierum ac spadonum agmen trahentem, inter purpuram atque aurum, oncratum fortunæ suæ apparatibus, prædam veriùs quam hostem, nihil aliud quam benè ausus vana contemnere, incruentus devicit.

(b) Et loquimur de Alexandro nondum meso secun-

dis rebus, quarum nemo intolerantior fuit. Qui, si ex habitu novæ fortunæ novique, ut ita dicam, ingenii quodlibet victor induerat, spectaret; Dario magis similis quam Alexandro in Italiam venisset, & exercitum Macedonicæ oblitum, degenerantemque jam in Persarum mores, adduxisset.

A. R. 435.  
Ant. C. 317.

more like Darius than Alexander, and that he would have led thither an army, which had then forgot Macedonia, and degenerated from its ancient virtue, in assuming the manners of the Persians. I am ashamed to repeat of so great a King the ridiculous pride, that made him renounce the simplicity of habit of his predecessors, to adorn himself in the pompous robes of the Kings of Persia; the abject complaisance which he exacted from his courtiers, by whom he was for being adored; indignities which would have been insupportable to the Macedonians, even had they been conquered, so far were they from being able to endure them being victors; his cruelty in punishing; the blood of his friends, shed in the midst of banquets; and the senseless vanity of ascribing a false origin to himself. If the love of wine augmented every day in him; if his transports of rage became still more sudden and violent; (what I say here is certain from the concurrent testimony of all authors) can we suppose that all these vices would not have impaired in some measure his military virtues?

What ought to make the successes of the Romans appear more worthy of admiration than those of Alexander, or of any other King whatsoever, are the innumerable obstacles they had to surmount for succeeding in their enterprizes. How often were they retarded by the frequent change of commanders, which became necessary, even by the constitution of the state from the establishment of the commonwealth? Some exercised the Dictatorship only during ten or twenty days: none retained the Consulship longer than a year. They found obstacles in the Tribunes of the People, who often prevented the levying of the armies; in the ignorance, temerity,

merity, or jealousy, of a colleague ; in the affairs of the city, which sometimes obliged them to set out too late, or to return sooner than was consistent with the good of the service. Alexander was far from being in the same case.

A. R. 435.  
Ant. C. 317.

(a) Kings are not only exempt from all obstacles of this kind, but absolute masters of times and measures : and far from being obliged to conform to circumstances, their will alone suffices for putting every thing in motion. In this respect, their glory is less than that of Rome's generals, victorious notwithstanding all obstacles over enemies, who had such great advantages over them.

II. As to what regards success, which Livy calls Fortune, it would be wrong to give the Romans the superiority to Alexander, as the Roman People, though they came off victorious from all the wars they made, were however defeated in several battles, whereas Alexander never fought one without gaining the victory. It would be unjust to compare a space of almost eight hundred years, which had elapsed from the foundation of Rome to the time when Livy wrote, with one of twelve or thirteen years, in which all Alexander's conquests were included. Compare man with man, general with general ; and you will find the annals filled with the names of Roman generals, for whom Fortune as constantly declared, as for the King of Macedonia, and whose success, as well as courage, never abandoned them on any day of their lives.

If we examine the various hazards of war, Rome had on that side an infinite advantage over

(a) At hercule, reges, non temporumque trahunt consilii cuncta, non sequuntur. liberi solum impedimentis omnibus, sed domini rerum

A. R. 455.  
A. M. C. 517.

the Macedonians, who, in the person of Alexander had only one chief, to whose life their whole fortune was attached; and a chief too, who not only ran the same risks as the Roman generals, but who exposed himself to them out of mere wantonness, and made it his glory to brave them through an intrepid valour, which often degenerated into rashness. The fortune of Rome did not depend in that manner upon her generals. When any of them were taken off by death, another immediately took his place, and the fall of a single man did not induce the ruin of the state.

III. It remains to compare troops with troops, either for their number, their species and quality, or the multitude of auxiliaries.

Only the Greeks and Macedonians in Alexander's army are to be reckoned soldiers. For as to the Persians, Indians, and other Asiatic nations, had he led them into Italy, they would rather have been an incumbrance to him, than an augmentation of his forces. Now Alexander's infantry never exceeded thirty thousand men. Add to these four thousand horse, most of them Thessalians, and we have the whole strength of his army.

Rome then had, according to the evidence of the *Census*, two hundred and fifty thousand citizens, all capable of bearing arms; and she often took the field with ten Legions at once. If to these we add the succours which she received from the states of Italy, either her subjects or allies, we find, that on the side of number, the Roman troops may be considered as superior to those of Alexander. Besides which, it would have been easy for the Romans to have recruited their armies, whereas Alexander, making war in an enemy's country, would have seen his  
troops

troops decreased from day to day, as happened to Hannibal, and he would have found it more difficult than the Carthaginians to have brought others from Macedonia.

A. R. 435.  
Ant. C. 517.

The Macedonian phalanx was in great reputation, and deservedly: but after all, it was an heavy body, all of one piece, unwieldy, and which many obstacles frequently made incapable of acting. The reader may see the description I have given of it after Polybius elsewhere. The Roman army on the contrary, divided into different bodies, moved easily, and was susceptible of all the forms it was necessary to give it. It divided and re-united with wonderful agility, and was always ready to fight in any situation of ground whatsoever.

Inc. 1117.  
Vol. VI.

Never were troops more enured to fatigues, more fit to support military labours, more dexterous, and more docile in respect to military discipline, nor more determinate to conquer or die in battle, than the Roman soldiers.

But what distinguished the Roman people from all the nations of the earth, and would undoubtedly have rendered them superior to Alexander, though he had gained some first advantages over them, was, that they did not know what it was to yield to ill fortune, and that their loftiness and obstinacy augmented in proportion to their disgraces. If neither the *Furcæ Caudinæ*, nor the battle of Cannæ, could subdue the spirit of the Romans, what defeat could ever have shaken their constancy? But had Alexander lost a single battle, he had been conquered for ever.

Though he had even been successful in the beginning, he would have been amazed to see, that the Romans, conquered, defeated, cut to pieces if that had happened, would only have been

Ab ipso  
ducit opes  
animasque  
ferro. Hor.

A. R. 451.  
A.U.C. 317.

been the more haughty on that account, and would have shut their ears to all proposals of peace and accommodation. He would then have had reason to regret the Persians, Indians, and other effeminate nations of Asia, and would have owned, that he had only made war against women till then, as his uncle Alexander King of Epirus is reported to have said of him, when, mortally wounded in a battle in Italy, he compared the wars his nephew was then making in Asia, with that wherein he saw himself fall.

As for me, says Livy, when I reflect, that the Romans and Carthaginians fought during twenty-four years at sea in the first Punic war, the life of Alexander seems hardly to have sufficed for a war with the Romans.

And who knows whether the two States, allied to each other by ancient treaties, might not at that time have also united all their forces against a common enemy, and set formidable armies on foot, under the weight of which Alexander would undoubtedly have sunk.

The Romans more than once measured their swords with the Macedonians, not indeed under Alexander, nor at the time when they were strongest, but under Antiochus, who had a great number of them in his army, under Philip, and under Perseus; and they did it not only without loss on their side, but almost without running any risque. (a) We will be bold to say, adds Livy, that setting aside civil wars, which are out of the present question, never were the horse or foot of an enemy superior to ours. Never were we worsted in battle in the open

(a) *Abfit invidia vero, & pedite, nunquam aperta acie, civilia bella stent, nunquam nunquam æquis, nunquam ab equite hoste, nunquam a nostris locis laboravimus.*

field,

field, never in places equally favourable to both armies, and still less, when advantageous to us. A. R. 435.  
Ant. C. 317.

Our heavy-armed infantry may fear a numerous cavalry, flights of arrows discharged by enemies who fly immediately after, thick forests, and places impracticable for convoys. It has conquered, and will always conquer, more numerous and formidable armies, than those of the Macedonians and Alexander, provided the same love of peace and union, as the Roman people now enjoy, prevails always amongst us.

In this manner Livy concludes his digression, which certainly abounds with very solid and judicious reflections. But one cannot conceive, how the love of his country should blind him to such a degree, as to make him advance with an air of assurance, (*absit invidia vero*) as if the thing had been indisputable, *that the cavalry and infantry of an enemy were never superior to those of the Romans, and that they were never worsted in battle in the open field.* Had he forgot the evident superiority of Hannibal over the Roman cavalry, or the battles of Allia and Cannæ, which he had cited just before, as a proof of the constancy of the Romans?

I return to the sequel of the history, after having made one short reflection upon all those of Livy, which are solely founded on human reason. But we, who are informed of the designs of God by his Scriptures, know, that the divine decrees not having given Alexander any thing in the West, or in Italy, he could not have conquered any thing in them, no not a single village: That as great and rapid as his conquests were in the East, because Providence had allotted him every thing there, his arms would have been no less impotent against Italy, because it had granted and allotted him nothing on that side.

A. R. 436.  
 Ann. C. 310.

M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.

L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.

*D. F. 177.  
 7. 177. 1.  
 177. 177.  
 177. 177.  
 177. 177.  
 177. 177.*

The war with the Samnites will continue to employ the Romans a great while, notwithstanding the frequent and considerable losses of that people, which might induce them to lay down their arms. Historians tell us, that they lost thirty thousand men in 440, twenty thousand three years after in 443, thirty thousand more in 446, besides as many in several other actions. It is hard to conceive how the country could supply so many soldiers. Every year some place was besieged, and some battle fought; and the Romans had almost always the advantage. The successes, though slow and not decisive, prepared the way for, and even assured, the conquest of Samnium, Apulia, Lucania, and other States more remote from Rome to the East.

I shall not enter into a particular account of the sieges and battles, which had nothing very memorable or affecting in them, and might prove tedious in the relation. I shall regularly repeat the names of the Consuls of each year; but I shall sometimes omit that of the Dictators, very frequent at that time. I find six of them in the space of seven years, from the 438th to the 444th year of Rome; without any apparent pressing occasion for having recourse to them. This seems depreciating in some measure that supreme authority, considered in the beginning as almost the last resource in the emergencies of the State, always confided to persons of known merit, and for that reason much more respected and awful.

In

In the 436th year of Rome, two new Tribes were added to the old ones, the Ufentine and Falerian, which made the Tribes thirty one in all.

A. R. 436.  
Ant. C. 316.  
*Institution of two new tribes.*

The same year a Præfect or Governor (*Præfectus*) was sent to Capua at the request of that city, in order to regulate the intestine divisions, that disturbed its tranquillity. The name of *Præfectura*, the province of a Præfect, was given to the cities, that were neither governed by their own laws, nor by magistrates elected amongst themselves: but received annual magistrates from Rome, who ruled with supreme authority and administered justice in them.

*Præfect sent to Capua.*  
Liv. 1. 9.  
c. 20.

C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS.

A. R. 437.  
Ant. C. 315.

Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.

Upon the report which was spread, of the good order re-established at Capua by the care of the Roman magistrate, the inhabitants of Antium demanded also, that some Romans should be sent to regulate their city: They were granted in consequence the persons who were the patrons of Antium: for the right of patronage was not confined to particulars, but extended to cities, and even, when the empire had attained its highest grandeur, to whole provinces, which put themselves under the protection of some powerful Senator. By the means of the Præfectships, Rome carried not only its arms, but its laws a great way: *nec arma modò, sed jura etiam Romana latè pollebant.* This was an excellent method of extending its power, and even dominion, and infinitely preferable to that of arms, which, in employing only force, subjects only the body, whereas the other gains the heart. And what esteem for the Roman

A. R. 437.  
Ant. C. 315.

man government must a magistrate have given a city to which he was sent, where the only use that he made of his power was to establish order, peace, justice, and to render the people happy. And those are the sole ends of all good government.

A. R. 438.  
Ant. C. 314.

SP. NAUTIUS.

M. POPILIUS.

Liv. l. 9.  
C. 21.

Defeat of the Samnites by the Dictator L. Æmilius.

A. R. 439.  
Ant. C. 313.

L. PAPIRIUS, IV.

Q. PUBLILIUS, IV.

Liv. l. 9.  
C. 22, 23.

The Consuls continued at Rome this year, as the last had done. The Dictator, Q. Fabius, was charged with the war against the Samnites. In a first battle Aulus Ceretanus, his master of the horse, killed the general of the enemy, and was soon after killed himself by that general's brother. In a second battle, Fabius, to leave his troops no hopes but in victory, declared to them, that he would set his camp on fire; and kept them ignorant of the considerable reinforcement his new master of the horse was bringing him from Rome. The soldiers urged on by the burning of their camp (of which the Dictator had only caused the first tents to be set on fire) marched like madmen against the enemy, who did not long sustain so rude a charge. At the same time the master of the horse, to whom the burning of the camp had been given for a signal, attacked the Samnites in the rear. Their defeat was considerable. The troops, laden with booty, returned to the camp, which contrary to their expectation

tion they found entire, except some few tents. That agreeable surprize gave them almost as much joy, as the victory they had just obtained.

A. R. 439.  
Ant. C. 313.

M. POETELIUS.

A. R. 440.  
Ant. C. 312.

C. SULPICIUS.

The new Consuls marched against the city of Sora, whose inhabitants had killed the Roman colony settled there, and had gone over to the Samnites. This siege would have cost the Romans much time, in effect of the advantageous situation of the place: but a deserter having discovered to them a way that led to the citadel, the place was taken in the night almost without resistance. At first the slaughter was great, because the Consuls had not entered the place. Those who had escaped the fury of the soldiers, surrendered themselves. Two hundred and fifty of them, who were the principal authors of the massacre of the Roman colony, were sent to Rome. They were all condemned to die, and executed in the Forum. That sight gave the populace a sensible pleasure, who had a great interest in the security of the citizens sent as colonies abroad. Many other cities, as Aufona, Minturnæ, and Vescia, were taken in the same manner by treachery.

*The Dictator Mænius*

A Dictator (C. Mænius) had been created to preside in the enquiries, that were to be made into a conspiracy excited abroad, to which a stop had been soon put. The Dictator, who was for making use of his authority, employed it on the occasion of certain secret assemblies said to be held at Rome for the attainment of offices. This accusation was made

*abdicates the Dictatorship, and justifies himself against a calumny imputed to him.*

Liv. l. 9.  
c. 26.

to

A. R. 440.  
Ant. C. 312.

to fall on the nobility, who enraged at that affront, retorted it upon the Dictator himself and his master of the horse, both Plebeians; affirming that if any were to be suspected of canvassing offices, it was themselves, who had no right to them by their birth, whereas the entrance to them was naturally open to others: and they threatened the Dictator to make him fully sensible of it, when he quitted his office. He did not wait the expiration of it. He abdicated the Dictatorship, demanded to be tried, and was declared innocent, as well as his master of the horse. (a) He was willing to shew, that innocence, and not consideration for their offices, was their security against such an accusation.

Liv. l. 9.  
c. 27.

It was under the Consuls Poetelius and Sulpicius, that a considerable battle was fought, wherein it is said thirty thousand Samnites were either killed, or taken prisoners.

A. R. 441.  
Ant. C. 311.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, V.

C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS, II.

Liv. l. 9.  
c. 28.

Fregellæ is retaken from the Samnites. Atina and Calatia have the same fate.

A. R. 442.  
Ant. C. 310.

M. VALERIUS.

P. DECIUS.

*Famius  
Censorship  
of Appius  
and Plau-  
tius.*

Persons of the greatest worth are sometimes exposed to accusations without reason, and even unjustly hurt in their fame, when they have to do with jealous, violent, or absurd enemies. This happened in the Censorship of Appius

Liv. l. 9.  
c. 29.

(a) Ut appareat innocentia nostra nos, non majestate honoris, tutos à criminatibus istis esse.

Claudius and C. Plautius. The most illustrious of the Senators, whose lives and actions were irreproachable, who had worthily filled the first offices of the State, or who might justly aspire to them, experienced the malignity of these two Censors, and saw themselves shamefully deprived of the rank of Senators. I have said elsewhere, that this degradation took place in consequence of the Censors leaving out the names of those they thought fit to exclude in reading over the List of the Senators.

A. R. 442.  
Ant. C. 310.

In order to fill up the places vacant by the expulsion of so many illustrious Senators worthily, Appius (*a*) introduced a great number of the sons of freedmen into the Senate. His end was to strengthen his interest, and to render himself all-powerful in that august assembly. It is not easy to conceive how a man, who in other respects had excellent qualities, could be guilty of such monstrous excesses. But of what is not a warm and violent ambition capable, which is for setting itself above all others, and for lording it at any price whatsoever? That of Appius had but ill success at this time. So enormous a proceeding prejudiced every body extremely against him.

Liv. l. 9.  
c. 46.

Accordingly the next year (I anticipate facts, in order to place all that relates to the unjust and absurd conduct of these Censors together) the Consuls paid no regard to the changes introduced in the Senate by their extravagance. They read the list of the Senate as it stood before the Censorship of Appius, without having any regard either to the pretended notes of infamy, which he had affixed to those he had

(*a*) Senatum primus libertinorum filiis lectis inquinaverat.  
Liv.

A R. 442  
Ant. C 310

struck out of it, or the pretended election of those he had substituted in their room.

Liv. 1 9.

c 33, 34.

When the eighteen months, which was the term to which Mamercus Æmilius had limited the duration of the Censorship, were expired, C. Plautius not being (*b*) able to support any longer the complaints and hatred, which their irregular and violent conduct had drawn upon them, immediately abdicated the Censorship. But Appius obstinately refused to quit his office, and declared, he would not resign it before five years were fully expired, which was the ancient term, fixed for the exercise of it at its first institution. P. Sempronius, Tribune of the People, undertook Appius with vigour. After having reproached him with the violences of his family, always imperious and enemies to the liberty of the Roman People, and which for that reason was become more odious to them, than that of the Tarquins; and put him in mind of the infamous and cruel Decemvir Appius, who had continued himself in his office in contempt of all laws: *Are these then, added he, the examples which you propose to yourself? What! A regulation established in the commonwealth above an hundred years, observed inviolably by so many illustrious men, who have since been Censors, dare you, Appius, audaciously despise and violate, in the view, before the eyes of the Senate and People? What would become of the State, if the Consuls, if the Dictators, should undertake, of their own authority, to continue themselves in office beyond the fixed term? We have seen C. Mænius within these few years abdicate the Dictator-*

(*b*) Ob infamem atque invidiosam Senatus lectionem, recundia victus collega, magistratu se abdicavit. Liv.

*ship long before the time, in order to justify himself, as a private person, of a crime laid to his charge. I do not require the same moderation from you, Appius. Do not quit your office one day, one hour, sooner than you are obliged: but don't exceed the just bounds of it. No, says Appius, I will continue Censor three years and six months compleat beyond the time allowed by the law Æmilia, and I will continue so alone. Is not this speaking and acting as a King, or rather as a tyrant? No Censor ever continued alone in office, all hitherto have abdicated, when their colleagues died. And as for you, neither the expiration of the term of your magistracy, the example of your colleague who is retired, the sense of shame, nor the laws, have any weight with you. You make your honour and merit consist in arrogance, presumption, and the contempt of gods and men. It is with pain I speak to you in this manner. The dignity you have exercised is worthy of respect. But your inflexible obstinacy obliges me not to spare you; and I declare to you, that if you do not obey the Æmilian law, I will order you to be carried to prison. Accordingly Appius giving only bad reasons by way of answer, he ordered him to be seized, and carried to prison. Appius implored the aid of the other Tribunes. Six were against him: but three declaring in his favour, to the disgrace of all the laws and all orders of the State, he exercised the Censorship during all the rest of the time.*

(a) Seeing his hopes frustrated on the side of the Senate, he turned towards that of the People, and to assure himself of their suffrages,

(a) Posteaquam eam lectionem (Senatorum) nemo tribus divisus, forum & campum corruget. Lib. 9. c. 46.

and

A. R. 442  
Ant. C. 310.

and to make himself master of the assemblies, he distributed the very dregs of the People into all the tribes, who in that manner, by their great number, always formed the majority of voices. This change was of no long duration, as we shall soon see.

Appian  
was anti  
Aqueduct.

Appius rendered his Censorship memorable by a famous work, which he undertook and compleated alone: this was the great way, called *Via Appia*, which he carried on from Rome to Capua. This road was continued in process of time as far as Brundisium (*Brindisi*) at the extremity of the Adriatic Gulf, about four hundred and fifty miles: a work, of which, after so many ages, there are still considerable traces to be seen, and which is no less admirable for its duration than extent.

Appius brought water also to the city by the means of an Aqueduct, which is the first mentioned in the Roman History. I have spoke of the Highways and Aqueducts of Rome in the introduction to this volume.

Family of  
the Potitii  
extinct.  
Liv. 1. 9.  
c. 29.

Ad eam  
maximam  
Herculis.

By the advice of the same Appius (for his conduct is much compounded of good and evil) the *Potitii*, anciently charged, and it is said by Hercules himself, with the care of the sacrifices offered to that demi-god upon the altar called, *the great altar of Hercules*, disdaining those functions, and not being willing to undergo the trouble of them any longer, had taught the ceremonies used in them to the \* slaves of the Roman people. A very surprizing thing happened soon after (says Livy, always credulous enough) which ought to be a warning against

\* The *Servi publici* were not slaves of any private person, but of the whole commonwealth. The Temples of the gods had also slaves, as the *Venerii* in Sicily, and the *Martiales* at Larinum.

changing any thing in the sacred ceremonies of religion. Of the twelve branches of the house of the Potitii then in being, in which there were thirty males about fifteen years old, they were all taken off to a man, and the whole race entirely extinct, in the space of one year. The vengeance of the Gods did not stop there. Some years after, Appius lost his sight entirely and continued blind during the rest of his life.

C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS, II.

A. R. 442.

Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA, II.

Ant. C. 310.

Two new regulations were made, which gave the People the nomination to several military offices. The first related to the Tribunes, or principal officers, of the legions. Of twenty-four Tribunes, six to each legion, the People at first elected only six. From the year of which we are speaking, they nominated sixteen, so that only eight remained to be appointed by the Consuls or Dictators. I have already observed, that the Tribunes are not properly compared with modern colonels, because the Tribunes did not command a certain part of a legion, but the whole legion alternately.

*Tribunes of the legions nominated by the People, as well as the Duumviri for the fleet.*

Liv. l. 9. c. 30.

*Quod mihi pareret legio Romana Tribuno.*

Horat.

The second regulation relates to the navy, little known till then amongst the Romans. This is the first time mention is made of a Roman fleet in Livy. It appears however from the two first treaties related by Polybius between the Romans and Carthaginians, that the Romans, at least particulars, had ships at sea, either for commerce, or piracy. But their number was very inconsiderable. It was decreed this year, that the People should nominate two

A. R. 443, officers, called *Duumviri*, for equipping a fleet,  
 Ant. C. 309.  
 Liv. l. 9. and refitting ships. The next year the Roman  
 c. 38. people sent a fleet against Campania, under the  
 command of P. Cornelius, charged with the  
 command of the maritime coasts. It came to  
 an anchor at Pompeii. This expedition ex-  
 tended no farther than making a descent upon  
 the neighbouring country, and taking some  
 plunder. That too was retaken by the peasants,  
 who killed some of the Romans before they  
 could regain the fleet.

*The players upon the flute re-in-  
 jured in their  
 rights.*  
 Liv. l. 9.  
 c. 30. A little circumstance, one would almost call  
 it a jest, employed people's thoughts very much  
 this year, because it seemed to have some rela-  
 tion to religion. The players upon the flute,  
 being very much offended, that the last Censors  
 had prohibited their eating in the temple of Ju-  
 piter, as they had always done till then, went  
 away in a body to the city of Tibur, so that  
 there were none left in Rome to play upon the  
 instruments in the sacrifices. Their retreat gave  
 the Senate some disquiet, and deputies were sent  
 to desire the inhabitants of Tibur to act in such  
 a manner, as to induce those people to re-  
 turn to Rome. The Tiburtini returned an obli-  
 ging answer, and began by sending for those  
 musicians to the Senate, who exhorted them to  
 return to Rome. That they absolutely refused.  
 Not being able to get the better of their obsti-  
 nacy, they thought of a stratagem suitable  
 enough to the character of the persons they  
 had to do with. They invited them to feasts,  
 some on one side, some on another, under pre-  
 tence of enlivening the entertainment by the  
 agreeable sound of their instruments. They  
 were abundantly treated. Good wine especially,  
 to which musicians are seldom enemies, was not  
 spared. To make short of our story, they all  
 fell

fell into so sudden and heavy a sleep, that they were put into waggons, and carried off without knowing any thing of the matter. They did not discover this till the next morning, when broad day-light, which found them still full of wine, opened their eyes, and shewed them, that they were in waggons in the Forum of Rome. A great concourse of People immediately gathered round them. After they had been prevailed on, not without abundance of difficulty, to continue at Rome, they were granted permission to go every year in masquerade about the city during three days, singing of songs and playing upon instruments, which was regularly practised down to Livy's time. The privilege, of which the suppression had put them so much out of humour, was also restored to them, and it was decreed, that when they were employed in the sacrifices, they should have a right to partake of the feasts that usually attended them.

A. R. 443.  
Ant. C. 309.

At the time of which we are speaking, two considerable wars employed the Romans. The Consul Junius, who had the Samnites for his province, after having taken two cities, Cluvia and Bovianum, from them, gave them battle, in which they had twenty thousand men killed.

*The Samnites conquered.*  
Liv. l. 9.  
c. 32.

On another side, all the states of Hetru-ria, except the Arretini, had taken arms, and began the siege of Sutrium, a city in alliance with the Romans, and which served as a barrier against the Hetrurians. The Consul Æmilius marched immediately to the relief of the place. The day after his arrival, the two armies drew up in battle, and faced each other till noon, without making any movement. The Hetrurians then, that they might not lose the day in looking upon each other, gave the signal. The action began on both sides with equal ardor.

*War with the Hetrurians.*  
Liv. l. 9.  
c. 32.

A. R. 443  
A. C. 309.

The enemy had the superiority in number, and the Romans in courage. The battle was obstinate, and long doubtful. The bravest on both sides fell in it. At length, the second line of the Romans having taken the place of the first, the enemy, who were only drawn up in one line, without any body of reserve to support it, could not resist the violent charge of those troops who were quite fresh. They however persisted to fight courageously, determined rather to fall by the enemy's swords than to turn their backs. There never had been less flying, and more slaughter, if night had not come on to their relief; and the victors were the first that gave over fighting. Nothing considerable besides happened this year.

A. R. 444.  
A. C. 308.

Q. FABIVS, II.

C. MARCIUS RUTILVS.

*The Romans  
gained over  
the Hetru-  
rians.*

Liv. l. 9.  
c. 35—37.

The Hetrurians besieged Sutrium again. The Consul Fabius did not delay marching to the aid of the allies. He led his army along the mountains into the plain. The enemy immediately offered him battle. As they had many more troops than him, to supply his defect in number by the advantage of the place, he made them advance a little upon the declivity of the mountain. The place was stony and full of great flints. The Hetrurians marched directly to them, and threw down their darts in order to come immediately to close fight. The Romans, taking the advantage of the superiority of the ground where they were drawn up in battle, poured darts and stones upon them, which wounded many, and disordered the rest by the noise they made in falling upon their helmets and bucklers. The Hetrurians could not easily come to blows with their enemies, and had not  
their

their darts to attack them at distance. Their troops were soon put in disorder. At the same moment the *Hastati* and *Principes*, that is, the two first lines of the Roman army, charged them sword in hand. They could not support this attack, and fled in a body to their camp. But the Roman cavalry, by taking a compass, had cut off their communication with it; which reduced them to take refuge on the mountains, and from thence with troops almost without arms, and covered with wounds, they entered the Ciminian forest. The Romans, after having killed a great number of enemies, taken thirty-eight ensigns, and made themselves masters of their camp, got considerable spoils.

A. R. 444.  
Ant. C. 303.

A council of war was then held, to consider whether the enemy should be pursued. The Ciminian forest was at that time more horrid and inaccessible, says Livy, than the German forests (that is to say the Hercynian, *Hercynia sylva*) were not long since. Till then not even any merchant had penetrated into them. None but the general had courage enough to resolve to attempt the entrance: the rest had not yet forgot the defiles of Caudium. Whilst the council were in this difficulty, a young Roman (some believe him the Consul's brother) offered to go and take a view of the places, and promised soon to bring back a certain account of them. He had been brought up at Cære, a town of Hetruria, and spoke the language of the country perfectly well, as did his servant. It is said, that the young Romans learned the Hetrurian tongue at that time, as they afterwards did the Greek, and that it made a part of their education. Those two set out without company, and took no other precaution, than to learn upon the way the names of the places they were to

A. R. 444.  
Ant. C. 308.

enter, and those of the principal inhabitants of the country, in order that they might not be known for strangers in conversation. They were dress'd like shepherds, and had each a scythe and two javelins all of iron. But all this did not contribute so much to conceal them, as the firm persuasion of every body, that no stranger would think of entering that forest. They arrived amongst the inhabitants of Camercinum in Umbria. The Roman declared who he was, and was conducted to the Senate. He proposed a treaty of alliance and amity in the name of the Consul. His proposal was accepted with joy. He was assured, that if the Romans entered the forest, they should find provisions in it for thirty days, and all the youth of the country under arms, and ready to obey their orders. Upon this news, the Consul made the baggage set out in the beginning of the night, and the legions soon after, and stayed behind with the cavalry. At day-break the next morning he appeared in the face of the enemy's advanced posts on the outside of the forest, and after having amused them some time, retired to his camp which he quitted soon after at another gate, and came up with the rest of his army the same night. The next day in the morning he had gained the top of the Ciminian mountain. From thence, after considering the rich lands of Etruria, he made his troops march down to plunder the country. They were returning with immense booty, when some bodies of peasants, armed in haste, came to intercept them with so little order, that they were very near being taken themselves by those whom they intended to deprive of their booty. After having beaten and put them to flight, the soldiers returned victorious and laden with spoils to the camp.

In

In the mean time, upon the report that was spread at Rome, of the Consul's design to penetrate into the Ciminian forest, the city was seized with terror, and the alarm became general. They knew what the rashness of the two Consuls, who had imprudently engaged themselves in the defiles of Caudium, had cost the commonwealth, and the traces of the shameful treaty concluded there, was not yet worn out of the minds of the citizens. Five deputies were immediately dispatched, with whom, in order to give them more weight, two Tribunes of the People were joined, to forbid the Consul to pass the Ciminian forest, in the name of the Senate. That order happily arrived too late, to the great satisfaction of the deputies, who returning immediately to Rome, filled it with joy by the agreeable news of the advantages gained by the Consul.

This expedition of the Consul, far from terminating the war, only excited a new one still more terrible than the first. The ravaging of the country at the foot of the Ciminian mountain had incensed not only the inhabitants, but the Umbrians in the neighbourhood, against the Romans. The two people having in consequence joined their troops, marched to Sutrium, others say too near \* Perusia, with an army much more numerous than the first. Without loss of time, they offered the Romans battle, who kept still without moving. They then approached their intrenchments, and seeing that the advanced guards had re-entered the camp, they did not doubt but it was an effect of the enemy's fear, and pressed their generals to send them provisions for the day to the place where they were; declaring that they would continue under arms, and were resolved to attack the camp the same

A. R. 444.  
Ant. C. 308.

*A new victory over the Heturians.*

*A truce of thirty years granted them.*

Liv. 1. 9. c. 37.

*\* A city beyond the Ciminian forest.*

A. R. 444  
Ant. C. 323.

night, or the next day at sun-rise, The Roman army expressed no less ardor for the battle: but the general's orders kept them within bounds. It was about the tenth hour of the day (two hours before sun-set) when he commanded his soldiers "to refresh themselves, and to keep  
"under arms in readiness to move at the first  
"signal that should be given either by day or  
"night. He exhorted them in few words, in  
"extolling the Samnites, whom they had often  
"defeated, much above the Hetrurians. He  
"added, that he had a secret view which he  
"could not explain at present that they should  
"know at the proper time." By these obscure and enigmatical words he seemed to insinuate, that he relied upon some treachery; and this he did to encourage his soldiers, whom the great number of the enemy's troops might have daunted. What rendered this notion the more probable, was the enemy's being in the open field without intrenchments. After having taken some nourishment, they also reposed themselves. At the fourth watch of the night, that is to say, three hours before sun-rise, they were awakened without noise, and armed. Axes and tools were given the servants of the army to demolish the intrenchments and fill up the works. The army was drawn up in battle within the inclosure of the camp, and chosen cohorts were posted at the gates. When the signal was given a little before day, which is the time when people sleep soundest in summer-nights, and the intrenchments were down, the army quitted the camp. They found the enemy lying on the ground dispersed here and there, some immoveable, others half asleep in their beds, and the greatest part of them running to their arms: a dreadful slaughter of them ensued. Few had time to arm.  
And

And as even those had neither officer to command them, nor ensign to assemble under, they were soon put to flight, and pursued by the cavalry. Some retired to the camp, others to the forest, and the latter found most safety. The camp was taken the same day. Orders were given to carry all the gold and silver to the Consul; the rest of the spoils were abandoned to the soldiers. Sixty thousand men were either killed or made prisoners in this action. In consequence of the loss of this battle the principal cities of Hetruria, and the most opulent in those days, Perugia, Cortona, and Arretium, sent deputies to Rome to demand peace, and a treaty of alliance. A truce for thirty years was granted.

The entrance of Fabius into the Ciminian forest gave the Samnites no less joy than it had given Rome alarm. A report had spread amongst them, that the Roman army, always fond of hazardous enterprizes, had rashly engaged in an unpassable forest, where the Heturians kept it shut up in such a manner, that it was impossible for it to retire, as had happened some years before at Caudium. Their joy was mingled with a kind of jealousy, that the glory of humbling the Romans should be transferred to another people. They therefore drew all their forces together, in order to crush the Consul Marcius if they could: and if he refused battle, they determined to set out immediately, and to cross the countries of the Marsi and Sabines, in order to join the Heturians. We may judge from thence, how high their hatred rose against Rome. The Consul spared them the pains of that march, and advanced to meet them. A bloody battle ensued, in which the loss was very great on both sides, and

A. R. 444.  
Ant. C. 308.

*Bloody battle between the Romans and Samnites, which obliges the former to nominate a Dictator. Liv. 1. 9. c. 38.*

A. R. 444.<sup>7</sup>  
Ant. C. 513.

and the victory doubtful. However, as many of the knights, and several legionary Tribunes, with a lieutenant-general were killed, and the Consul himself wounded, a report spread at Rome, that the battle had been lost, which occasioned great consternation.

*The Consul  
Fabius de-  
clares Pa-  
pirius Cur-  
sor Dicta-  
tor.*

In this alarm, it was thought necessary to nominate a Dictator, and every body cast their eyes upon Papirius Cursor, undoubtedly the most able and most esteemed general of his times. But to send a courier to Samnium, of which all the passes were in the hands of the enemy, was not safe; besides which, it was not certain whether Marcius were still alive. Fabius, the other Consul, was still in Hetruria: but it was known, that he had not yet forgot the rigor with which Papirius had formerly acted in regard to him, and the consequences of the resentment, which he still retained on that account, were apprehended. The Senate deputed the most illustrious of their body to him, in order that their particular authority, uniting with that of the august assembly who sent them, might induce Fabius to get the better of his private animosity in consideration of the public good. The deputies opened their commission to him, and added some advice conformable to the intentions of the Senate. The Consul heard them with his eyes fixed on the ground, and withdrew, leaving them uncertain as to what he would do. But the same night (it was the custom to perform this ceremony in the night) he declared Papirius Dictator. The next day the deputies made him great compliments upon his generosity. But he still observed a strict silence: so (a) that it was easy to discern in his

(a) Ut appareret insignem dolorem ingenti comprimi animo. *Livy*

manner of behaviour the struggle of a great soul suppressing a warm resentment, not without difficulty.

The Dictator, after having appointed C. Junius Bubulcus Master of the Horse, set out with the legions, which had been levied just before upon the report of the danger of the army in passing the Ciminian forest. Being arrived at Longula, and having taken the command of the troops from the Consul Marcius, he drew up his army, and offered the enemy battle, who did not seem to refuse it. Neither side however beginning the action, night came on, and left them in the same posture. They continued some time encamped near each other without moving, not because they could not confide in their own forces, but because neither despised those of their enemy.

In the mean time some other actions passed in Hetruria. On one side battle was given the Umbrians, who were routed and put to flight immediately, which occasioned their loss not to be considerable. On the other, the Hettrurians assembled in great numbers near the lake of Vadimon. They had made their levies in a manner, which shews how high their desire of vengeance and their fury rose, choosing man by man, and pronouncing terrible imprecations against all such as should refuse to take arms, or should quit them without orders. Never had they fought with troops so numerous and animated. In consequence they came immediately to blows, without any thoughts of using their darts. The action only augmented their ardour for the fight, so that the Romans imagined they were not engaged with the Hettrurians, whom they had so often conquered, but with a nation entirely new and unknown to them.

A. R. 444.  
Ant. C. 308.

*New victory gained by Fabius over the Hettrurians.*  
Liv. l. 9.  
c. 39.

A. R. 444.  
A. U. C. 303.

them. Neither side knew what it was to give way or fly. The front lines on both sides having been cut to pieces, the second took their places. At length the reserved troops advanced to engage. This resolution and intrepidity were equal on both sides, and continued so a great while, till the Roman horse dismounting, advanced over the arms and dead bodies to the front. That reinforcement of entirely fresh troops put the front ranks of the Hetrurians into confusion and disorder. The other Roman soldiers, as much weakened as they were by wounds and fatigue, resumed courage from the example of their horse, and broke into the main body of the enemy. Their obstinacy could not hold out against this new effort: they were reduced to give way, and at last to fly. This defeat gave a mortal wound to the power of the Hetrurians, which it never after recovered. They lost in this battle the whole flower of their youth: and their camp was taken and plundered.

The war with the Samnites was attended with almost equal danger and the like success. Without speaking of their other preparations of war, in order to make their troops the more splendid, and at the same time the more terrible in their sense, they gave them arms of a new kind. Their army was divided into two bodies. The shields of both were adorned with figures of curious workmanship, of the one with gold, and of the other with silver. These shields were large and square at top, to cover the breast and the shoulders, and gradually lessened towards the bottom in order to their being the more light and manageable. Their cuirass was a kind of coat of mail, which Livy expresses by the word *Spongia*. Upon their left thighs

thighs they had cuisses. Their helmets were set off with a plume, to add to their stature. The habits of the soldiers who carried a shield adorned with gold, were party-coloured; those of the others were of extremely white linnen. Care had been taken to give the Romans notice of this new and pompous appearance of the enemy. Their commanders had industriously animadverted to them (*a*), “ That the soldier  
 “ ought not to glitter with gold and silver,  
 “ but to appear dreadful from arms of steel  
 “ and valour: that gold and silver were rather  
 “ spoils than armour: that they looked bright  
 “ before action, but in battle, in the midst of  
 “ blood and wounds, lost all their lustre. That  
 “ courage was the true ornament of soldiers,  
 “ that all that splendor followed victory; and  
 “ that however poor the victor was, the richest  
 “ enemy became his prey.

A. R. 444.  
 Ant. C. 308.

Papirius after having spoke thus, led on his troops to battle. He commanded the right wing, and his Master of the Horse the left. As soon as they came to blows, the dispute of arms with the enemy was violent, but that of glory between the Dictator and Master of the Horse was no less warm, each striving which of them should first determine the victory to incline to his side. Chance declared in favour of Junius, who first made the enemy give way upon the left wing. Those were the troops armed and cloathed in white, who before they came to the battle had laid themselves under

(*a*) Horridum militem esse debere; non cælatum auro & argento, sed ferro & animis fretum. Quippe illa prædam veriùs, quam arma esse; nitentia ante rem, deformia inter sanguinem & vulnera. Virtutem esse militis decus, & omnia illa victoriam sequi; & ditem hostem quamvis pauperis victoris præmium esse. *Liv.*

A. R. 444.  
Ant. C. 308

the most horrid imprecations, not to fly. Junius, crying with a loud voice, that he devoted them to Pluto, charged them furiously, and put them in disorder. The Dictator perceiving that, cried out : *How ! Shall the victory begin on the left wing, and shall the right commanded by the Dictator have only the second rank ?* This reproach was a powerful incentive to animate the right wing. The troops acted universally with new ardor. The horse piqued themselves upon not giving place to the infantry, nor the lieutenants to the generals. M. Valerius on the right, P. Decius on the left, both persons of Consular dignity, advanced towards the horse posted on the two wings, and having exhorted them to advance and share with them in the glory of defeating the Samnites, they charged the enemy in flank on both sides at once. This unexpected attack put all things in disorder. The legions at the same time, raising new cries, pushed them with vigour. The Samnites found no safety but in flight. Their fear made them seek refuge at first in their camp : but the same dread soon made them quit it. The camp was taken, plundered, and burnt before night. The Senate decreed the Dictator a triumph, of which the arms taken from the enemy were the principal ornaments. There were so much magnificence in them, that the gilded shields were divided amongst the masters of the goldsmiths shops round the Forum, to be displayed for show, and to serve as ornaments to them. It is said, that this gave occasion to the custom afterwards introduced of adorning the Forum in a religious solemnity during the celebration of games, wherein the statues of the gods were carried in procession to the Circus upon a kind of litters, called *thensæ* : from whence comes  
the

the expression frequent enough amongst the ancients, *thensas ducere*. A. R. 444.  
Ant. C. 308.

Fabius, the same year, without much difficulty defeated the remainder of the Hetrurians near Perusia, who had broke the truce. He would have taken that city by force, but it prevented the assault, and surrendered. After having put a garrison into it, and sent the deputies of Hetruria, who demanded peace, before him to Rome, he returned thither himself, and obtained a triumph still more illustrious than that of the Dictator. P. Decius and M. Valerius shared with the latter in the glory of the victory gained over the Samnites. The People expressed their gratitude to them on that account at the approaching election by unanimously electing the one Consul, and the other Prætor. This was the fourth time the Prætorship had been conferred on Valerius.

Q. FABIVS III.

A. R. 445.  
Ant. C. 307.

P. DECIUS II.

In the allotment of provinces, Hetruria fell to Decius, and Samnium to Fabius. The latter defeated the Samnites, and his victory cost him little. The Marfi and Peligni, who came to their aid, had the same fate. *New defeat of the  
Heturians and  
Samnites.*  
Liv. l. 9.  
C. 41.

Decius was no less successful on his side. He obliged the people of Tarquinii to supply his troops with corn, and to demand a truce of him for forty years. He took several places from the Volsinienfes, and demolished some of them, that they might not serve for retreats to the enemy. In carrying his arms throughout the country he spread so great a terror, that the whole nation in a body sent deputies to demand peace of him. They could not obtain it. They  
were

A. R. 445. were granted only a truce of an year, on con-  
 Ann. C. 397. dition of paying the Roman army for one year,  
 and supplying each of the soldiers with two  
 habits.

*The story of the war with the Umbrians is told in the Annals of the Romans from the first to the fourth century.*  
 After so many defeats every thing one would think should have been quiet on the side of Etruria. But the revolt of the Umbrians, a very powerful people, whom the war had cost only some incursions into their country, drew after it that of the greatest part of the Etrurians. They had raised so numerous an army, that they believed it impossible to resist them. Speaking of themselves in magnificent terms, and of the Romans with the utmost contempt, they reckoned to leave Decius behind them, so little they regarded him, and to march directly to besiege Rome. Assoon as the Consul was apprized of that design, he set out from Etruria, and by great marches returned towards Rome. In order to observe the motions of the enemy, he halted in the territory of Pupinia.

Rome was not without alarm in respect to the war with the Umbrians. Their menaces, though they had perhaps morerodomontade than reality in them, did not fail to give her some apprehension, remembering what she had suffered from the Gauls. Deputies were therefore sent to the Consul Fabius, to engage him to march his army into Umbria assoon as possible, if the affairs of Samnium would admit. He set out directly, and by great marches arrived at Mevania, where the army of the Umbrians then was.

The sudden arrival of the Consul, whom they believed far from Umbria employed in another war in Samnium, surprized and terrified them to such a degree, that some of them were  
 of

of opinion it was necessary to. shut themselves up in their strong places. Others were for renouncing the war entirely. However some, more bold or more rash than the rest, determined upon giving battle immediately. Accordingly they attacked Fabius, whilst he was employed in intrenching his camp: He made his soldiers quit the work, drew them up in battle; and putting them in mind of the many victories they had gained, he exhorted them to revenge the insolence of those people, who threatened to besiege Rome. They were full of cheerfulness and valour, and did not wait the signal, nor till the trumpets sounded, but fell directly upon the enemy. They began by pulling the ensigns out of the hands of those who carried them, and then dragged the carriers themselves to the Consuls feet: The Umbrians scarce made any resistance, and upon the first orders, which the Consul caused to be dispersed throughout the whole army, that such as would save their lives should lay down their arms, they all surrendered that moment. The next and the following days all the other States of Umbria did the same.

Fabius, victorious over a people, and in a war which were not in his province, led back his army into the country of the Samnites. In reward of so important a service, he was continued in the command for the following year.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS.

A. R. 445.  
Ant. C. 306.

L. VOLUMNIUS.

Volumnius was sent against the Salentini, new enemies, who till then had been out of the reach of the Roman arms. He acquired great reputation in that war, gained several battles; VOL. III. Q

*The Salentines, new enemies, are defeated.*  
Liv. l. 9.  
and c. 42.

A. R. 446.  
Ant. C. 306.

and took some cities. He (*a*) abandoned the spoils willingly to the soldiers, and seasoned a liberality, of itself highly agreeable, with so graceful and insinuating a behaviour, as added a new value to it, and acquired him the hearts of all the troops. In consequence, to please him, they went through the severest labours with joy, and confronted the greatest dangers with intrepidity. Such a quality in a general, vastly exalts the courage of an army, and in some measure doubles its number.

Fabius the Pro-consul gained, on his side, new advantages over the Samnites.

A. R. 447.  
Ant. C. 305.

P. CORNELIUS, ARVINA.

Q. MARCIUS, TREMULUS.

Liv. l. 9.  
C. 43.

The Samnites were often defeated but never subjected. They lost a battle this year, in which they had thirty thousand men killed.

Livy mentions a third treaty made with the Carthaginians at this time.

A. R. 448.  
Ant. C. 304.

L. POSTUMIUS.

T. MINUCIUS.

Liv. l. 9.  
C. 44.

The Consuls were both sent against the Samnites, but in different places. Sometimes together and sometimes separate, they acted always in concert, beat the Samnites on several occasions, and took some towns from them.

(*a*) Prædæ erat largitor, que iis artibus fecerat & periculi & laboris avidum. Liv.  
& benignitatem per se gratam comitate adjuvabat, militem-

P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.

A. R. 449,  
Ant. C. 333,

SEMPRONIUS \* SOPHUS.

Though there was little reason to confide in the promises of the Samnites, however, at their earnest sollicitation, the ancient treaty with them was renewed. Liv. l. 9. c. 45.

At the same time the Consuls turned their arms against the Æqui, the ancient enemies of the Roman people, who after having long continued in sufficient tranquillity, had some short time before aided the Samnites, and taken upon them to insult the Romans. When they saw the army of the enemy upon their lands, they did not dare to face it, though they had considerably numerous forces. They chose to retire into their respective cities, resolving to make a good defence there. The Romans attacked them one after another, and carried them all by storm in fifty five days to the number of forty one. They demolished and burnt most of them, and the nation of the Æqui was almost entirely destroyed. This example of severity induced the Marrucini, Marfi, Peligni, and Frentani to send Deputies to Rome to demand a treaty of peace: which was granted them. *The Æqui are conquered and almost entirely destroyed.*

The same year C. Flavius the Register, a man of mean birth, his father having been a freed-man, but of understanding and eloquence, was made Curule Ædile. As, according to some Authors, he was actually subordinate to the Ædiles in quality of Register, and for that reason the person who presided in the assembly, *C. Flavius the Register, son of a freed-man, is chosen Curule Ædile. He makes the Fatti publick, of which only the Pontiff had the keeping.*

\* This Sempronius is the only one, to whom the Romans gave the surname of Sophus, that is to say, the Wise. His extraordinary knowledge of the law acquired him so glorious a title. Pompon. de or. juris. Liv. l. 9. c. 46.

A. R. 449.  
A.M.C. 503. seeing him upon the point of being chosen *Ædile*, refused to admit him as qualified, he declared to the assembly upon oath, that he would exercise the office of Register no longer : some write, that he had quitted it before. However that were, he well knew how to avenge himself upon the nobility for their contempt of his birth. The (a) Pontiffs (they were of the Patrician order) had made themselves masters of what was then called the Civil Law : that is, they alone knew the days, on which it was lawful to plead, because the *Fasti*, wherein those days were set down, were only in their hands. It was therefore necessary to have recourse to them, and to consult them continually upon the affairs of particulars, that occurred, which occasioned their being in great consideration. This Flavius, whom they supremely despised, was a person of more art and dexterity than themselves, and played them a trick, of which they had not the least suspicion, in disclosing all their mysteries. He stole from them their whole science, copied their collection of the \* forms of law, and of the *Fasti*, which they kept carefully locked up, made them publick, and enabled the whole city to know of themselves on what days they might plead, and what forms it was necessary to use.

(a) *Posset agi lege, nec ne, luci quondam sciebant: fastos enim vulgo non habebant. Erant in magna potentia qui consulebantur. Pro Muræn. n. 25.*

\* *Civile jus & Fasti, terms used here by Livy are two different things, of which the*

*Pontiffs had made themselves masters. Civile jus, signified the forms according to which an action was brought before the judges, or according to which the action of an adversary was to be answered. Fasti, was the book wherein the juridical days were set down.*

He

He carried another point against the nobility, which mortified them exceedingly. This was a dedication of a temple, an honour much solicited amongst the Romans, because the name of the dedicator was ascribed upon the front of that sacred edifice. The temple here in question was that of Concord. The great Pontiff was first to pronounce certain words, which the person who was charged with the ceremony repeated after him. The Pontiff, in despair to be obliged to render the declared enemy of his colleague that service, sought all means for avoiding it, and pretended that only a Consul, or a general of an army, could dedicate a temple. The affair was carried before the People, and the great Pontiff was cast. The Senate caused an ordinance to be passed by the people, that from thenceforth no person should dedicate a temple or an altar without the permission of the Senate, or the majority of the Tribunes.

There happened also another affair, little in itself, and which would not be worth repeating, if it were not a proof of the Plebeian liberty in respect to the pride of the nobles. Flavius went to pay his colleague, who was sick, a visit. When he entered his chamber, not one of the young nobility who were there rose up to shew him respect as was usual, but all kept their seats. Flavius was not in the least dashed; but (a) ordered his Curule chair to be brought in, which was the mark of his dignity, and from that seat of honour had the satisfaction to enjoy at his ease the pain he gave those who envied him. Persons, so foolishly infatuated with the nobility of their birth, well deserved such a mortification.

(a) Curulem afferri se- sede) anxios invidiâ inimicos  
lam eò jussit, ac sede (id est e spectavit. Liv.

A. R. 449.  
A. C. 355.

For the rest, the manner in which Flavius attained the Ædileship, did him no honour. We have observed that Appius, through views of ambition, had dispersed the populace, that is to say, the dregs of the people, into all the Tribes. It was this rabble who chose Flavius Ædile.

*Fabius re-  
stores the  
manner of  
the people  
in four  
Tribes  
only.*

From this change, Rome was in a manner divided into two parts: that of the sounder part of the People, who respected virtue, and were in the interest of persons of worth, and that of the populace and meanest sort, who formed a distinct faction. Things continued in this condition till the Censorship of Q. Fabius and P. Decius, which cannot be placed in any other year than that of which we are speaking, according to some, and even Livy himself. Fabius, to support concord in the city, and at the same time to prevent the dregs of the People from ruling in the assemblies, who being dispersed into all the tribes, formed always the majority of voices in them, included them all in four tribes only, and those city-tribes. In this he only restored things to their original institution. Servius Tullius, author of the division of the tribes, destined those of the city for the reception of the inferior people and freed-men; and for that reason those of the city were the least honourable. This distinction of the different orders of the citizens re-established by Fabius, was so well received by the publick, that it acquired him the surname of *Maximus* (most great, which all his victories had not attained.

*Servius re-  
stores the  
manner of  
the people.*

It is also said, that it was he who instituted the solemn review of the Roman knights, which was made every year on the fifteenth of July, wherein, divided into squadrons, crowned with olive

olive branches, dressed in their robe of ceremony (*trabea*) and mounted on their horses, they went in pomp either from the temple of Mars, which was without the walls, or from the temple of Honour, to the Capitol. In this manner Dionysius Halicarnassensis describes this cavalcade: but he supposes it instituted immediately after the battle at the Lake of Regillæ.

A. R. 449.  
Ant. C. 303.

Lib. 6.  
P. 351.

## S E C T. III.

*Two new colonies established. Æqui checked. Grecian fleet repulsed. Wars against the Marfi and Hetrurians easily terminated. The Plebeians are admitted to the dignity of Pontiffs and Augurs. Law of appeals to the People renewed. Two Tribunes added to the number of those magistrates. The Hetrurians engage the Gauls to join them. The latter after having received the sums agreed on, refuse to perform conditions. War with the Hetrurians and Samnites. Fabius is elected Consul against his will: Decius Mus is given him for his colleague. They march against the Samnites, gain great advantages over them, and ravage their whole country. Ap. Claudius and L. Volumnius are chosen Consuls. Decius, to whom the command had been continued for six months, defeats the army of the Samnites, and obliges it to quit the country. It marches to join the Hetrurians. Decius takes several places in Samnium. Volumnius marches thither with his army, as Appius does into Hetruria, where he had little success. Volumnius removes with his army into Hetruria. He is very ill received by his colleague. The troops oblige him to stay there. The two Consuls gain a considerable victory over the Hetrurians, whom the Samnites had joined.*

*lumnius returns into Samnium, where he defeats the Samnites, and takes from them the booty they had made in Campania. News arrives from Etruria, which occasions great consternation. The defeat of the Samnites abates the alarm. Two colonies are sent into Samnium. On the report of terrible preparations for a war in Etruria, Q. Fabius and P. Decius are chosen Consuls. New altar instituted to Plebeian chastity. Usurers fined.*

A. R. 450.  
Ant. C 302.

L. GENUCIUS.

SER. CORNELIUS.

*Two new colonies established.*

ROME was at that time almost exempt from foreign wars. Two colonies were sent abroad: the one of four thousand men to Sora, and the other of six thousand to Alba \* Fucentis a city of the Æqui. The freedom of Rome was given at the same time to the Arpinates and Tribulani. We see Rome at this time discharged of ten thousand poor citizens. How wisely instituted was this custom, almost as ancient as the city itself, of removing from time to time the supernumerary load of inhabitants from the capital city, for relieving the distress of those who had no means of life; for lessening and weakening the multitude of the poorer sort, who are always ready to raise tumults, when they are very numerous, and together; to awe the cities of the provinces by this kind of garrison; and to inspire the subjects newly

\* This city is placed in the country of the Marsi. It is probable that the Æqui having been almost entirely extirpated, the Marsi their neighbours settled in their late country, and gave it their name. And indeed, in succeeding times there is no mention of the Æqui at all.

conquered with the spirit, and maxims of, as well as affection for, the Roman government.

A. R. 450.  
Ant. C. 302.

M. LIVIVS.

A. R. 451.  
Ant. C. 301.

M. ÆMILIUS.

The Æqui, though reduced to extreme weakness, undertook to expel the Roman colony, that had been settled in their country. It sufficed at first to check them. An army was afterwards sent from Rome, that entirely subjected them.

*Æqui checked.*

A Grecian fleet, under the command of \* Cleonymus the Lacedæmonian, landed in Italy, and took the city of \*\* Thurii, in the country of the Salentines. The Consul Æmilius obliged Cleonymus to betake himself to his ships, and to go in quest of fortune elsewhere. Carried by the winds to the bottom of the Adriatick Gulph, he landed again, and advanced to Patavium (Padua) in the country of the Veneti; and after various adventures was obliged to retire with scarce a fifth part of his fleet. Livy, born at Padua, has done his country the honour to relate the particulars of the advantage gained by the Paduans over Cleonymus.

*Grecian fleet repulsed.*

Rome had two wars to sustain. The first was against the Marfi, who were defeated with no great difficulty by the Dictator M. Valerius Maximus. He found more resistance from the Hetrurians: but at length he gained a considerable victory over them, which obliged them to demand peace. He permitted them

\* This Cleonymus was the son of Cleomenes king of Sparta, and uncle to king Aræus.

\*\* Thurii, a city built out of the ruins, and in the neighbourhood of the ancient Sybaris.

A. R. 451.  
Ant. C. 321.

to send Deputies to Rome, after having made them advance the pay of the army for a year, and furnish it with corn for two months. Rome only granted them a truce for two years. The Dictator returned in triumph into the city, and was made Consul for the following year.

A. R. 452.  
Ant. C. 320.

M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Q. APPULEIUS.

*The first  
bond made  
common to  
both orders*  
Liv. l. 10.  
c. 5—9.

No disputes had been heard of a great while between the Patricians and Plebeians. Two Tribunes of the People Q. and Cn. Ogulnius, excited one in respect to the Priesthood, of which till then all the offices, except that of keepers of the Sibyl's books, had been solely in the hands of the Patricians. The dignities of Augurs and Pontiffs were the subject of the present contest. When the Augurs were first instituted, three had been created, one for each of the ancient tribes (*Ramnes*, *Titienfes*, and *Luceres*.) Three more were afterwards added: for the addition was always made by an odd number, in order that each tribe might always have a like number of Augurs. There should have been six at that time: of which it is probable that two were dead, as there were two vacancies in the college of Augurs. It appears, from what Livy says in this place, that the name of Priests (*Sacerdotes*) was equally given, and common, both to the Augurs and Pontiffs. The Tribunes proposed, that the college of Augurs should be augmented to the number of nine, and that of the Pontiffs to eight; and that all the offices, to be filled up in virtue of this augmentation, should be occupied by Plebeians.

The

The Patricians saw with abundance of grief, A. R. 452.  
Ant. C. 300. that the priesthood was also to be disputed with them, the only distinction, and privilege, which they retained of their ancient grandeur: for the Plebeians had divested them of the sole right to Consulships, Censorships, and Triumphs. But, accustomed to be always overcome in this kind of disputes, they gave way in this almost without resistance, contenting themselves with saying, “ That this change by which religion was  
“ profaned, regarded the gods; and that they  
“ wished it might not draw down some misfortune upon the commonwealth.”

There were however some harangues for and against the law spoke before the People. Ap-  
pius Claudius pleaded for the right of the Patricians, and P. Decius Mus for the Plebeians. Inciñtus  
cincñu Ga-  
bino. The latter, representing the image and attitude of his father Decius, when covered with the most august habit, and standing upon a spear, he devoted himself for the People and Legions; Decius, I say, demanded, “ Whe-  
“ ther one could believe, that his father had  
“ appeared less pure and agreeable in the sight  
“ of the immortal gods, than his colleague T.  
“ Manlius would have done? And whether he  
“ who had offered himself as a sacrifice to the  
“ gods, in the name and for the preservation  
“ of the commonwealth, might not have been  
“ chosen a priest? Has there been reason to  
“ repent the vows, which so many Plebeian  
“ Consuls and Dictators, either in setting out  
“ for the army or in battle, have made for  
“ the commonwealth, and which the gods  
“ had heard? Since the Roman armies had  
“ been confided to the conduct of the Ple-  
“ beians, and had fought under their auspices,  
“ had they reckoned fewer triumphs amongst  
“ them,

A. R. 452.  
Ant. C. 300.

“ them, than amongst the Patricians? Where-  
 “ fore then, as they shared the offices of Præ-  
 “ tor, Consul, Dictator, and the honour of  
 “ triumphs, with the Patricians, should they  
 “ not also share the dignities of Augur and  
 “ Pontiff with them? That where merit was  
 “ equal, honours ought also to be so. In a  
 “ word, added he, it seems to me (and I hope  
 “ the gods will not be offended at what I am  
 “ going to say) that after all the marks of  
 “ distinction, with which the Roman people  
 “ have adorned us, we are no less capable of  
 “ doing honour to the priesthood, than we  
 “ are of receiving honour from it; and that  
 “ if we desire it with so much ardour, it is  
 “ less out of ambition and the view of exalting  
 “ ourselves, than a motive of religion and for  
 “ the honour of the gods.” I am not surprized  
 at a Roman’s talking in this manner. All  
 that the Pagans heard of their gods, could not  
 inspire them with great respect for such di-  
 vinities.

The People demanded, that the Tribes  
 should proceed to their suffrages, and there was  
 no room to doubt in what manner they would  
 have decided. It was however deferred by the  
 opposition of some Tribunes. The next day  
 the opponents joined their colleagues, and it was  
 passed unanimously. Four Pontiffs were created,  
 at the head of whom was P. Decius Mus,  
 the author of the law, and five Augurs, all  
 Plebeians.

The same year the Consul, M. Valerius, re-  
 newed the law concerning appeals to the Peo-  
 ple. It had been passed at first by Valerius  
 Publicola; next by Valerius Potitus; and in  
 the third place it was renewed now by Vale-  
 rius Corvus. The reason no doubt of renew-

ing this law at different times, was because the credit of particulars was too strong for this institution, and oppressed the liberty of the People. Only the law *Portia*, passed long after, could secure the persons of the citizens, in laying great penalties upon such as should scourge, or cause a citizen to be put to death. The (a) law *Valeria*, in prohibiting the scourging or putting to death of one, who should appeal to the People, added only, that he who should act in another manner, would do ill. Happy age, wherein this reflection, *Whoever should transgress the law, would do ill*, was a sufficient tie to prevent men from the violation of it. Who in these times, cries Livy, would seriously threaten in such a manner?

A. R. 452.  
Ant. C. 300.

M. FULVIUS PÆTINUS.

A. R. 453.  
Ant. C. 299.

T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

All the centuries were inclined to elect Q. Fabius Consul. He insinuated, that at present a magistracy, of which the functions should confine him to the city, would enable him to do the State most service. It was not difficult to conceive what he desired, though he did not demand it. He was created Curule Ædile with L. Papirius Cursor. This fact seems doubtful to Livy.

The Censors compleated the *Census* this year with the usual ceremonies.

C. 298.  
compleated

(a) Valeria lex, cum cum tum, adjecit. Id (qui tum qui provocasset, virgis cædi pudor hominum erat) visum, securique necari vetuisset, si credo, vinculum satis validum legis. Nunc vix serio quis adversus ea fecisset, nihil ultrà, quam improbè facta minetur quisquam. Liv.

A. R. 483.  
Ant. C. 299  
*Tuscan Tribes*  
added to  
the old ones.  
Liv. l. 10.  
c. 10.

Two Tribes were also added to the old ones, the *Anienfis* and *Terentina*: which made them amount to thirty-three.

Nequinum, a city of Umbria, where Narnia was afterwards built, was taken by the treachery of two of its inhabitants.

*The Hetrurians engaged the Gauls to join them. The latter often saving themselves by the aid of their superior force.*

The Hetrurians made preparations for a war with the Romans, though the truce was not expired: but an irruption of the Gauls into their country deferred the execution of it. As the Hetrurians were very rich, they endeavoured to make these new enemies their allies by the means of money, in order to be the better able to attack the Romans with their united forces. The Gauls willingly accepted the proposal, and agreed upon the price. When they had received it, and were to set out, they said, that to march against the Romans had not been included in the contract, and that they had only engaged not to ravage the lands of the Tuscans, and not to attack those who cultivated them. That however they would follow them against the Romans, if they thought fit, without requiring any other reward from them, except that they would grant them some part of their country to settle in, in order that they might at length have a fixed and quiet abode. The Hetrurians held several assemblies on this proposal: but could not come into it. It was not so much the diminution of their dominions, that prevented them, as the fear of having so fierce and enterprizing a people for their neighbours. Thus not being able to terminate the affair, the Gauls retired, carrying with them a considerable sum of money, which had not cost them much pains, but which acquired them no reputation for equity and faith to their engagements. The fear of being attacked at the same time by the Hetrurians

Hetrurians and Gauls gave the Romans great alarm ; which induced them to conclude a treaty immediately with the Picentes, a people in the neighbourhood of Samnium.

A. R. 453.  
Ant. C. 299.

The province of Hetruria had fallen by lot to the Consul Manlius. He had scarce entered the enemy's country, when he died of a fall from his horse. The Hetrurians took this event as a good omen for them, and full of confidence immediately assured themselves of the success of a war, which the gods themselves seemed to have began. Their joy was short-lived. When they saw M. Valerius Corvus enter their country, who had been substituted to the Consul lately dead, they dared not shew themselves in the field, but kept close in their towns. Valerius ravaged all the flat country.

*War with the Hetrurians.*

Liv. l. 10.  
c. 11.

*This was the sixth Consulship of Valerius.*

Advice came from the Picentes, that the Samnites were preparing to take arms again ; and the Senate turned their principal attention that way.

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

A. R. 454.  
Ant. C. 298.

CN. FULVIUS.

The beginning of this year the Lucanians sent deputies to the new Consul, “ to complain  
“ that the Samnites had made incursions into,  
“ and ravaged their country, because, notwithstanding all the instances they could  
“ make, they had refused to join them against  
“ the Romans. They said, that their past  
“ faults had made them wise, and that they  
“ were resolved to suffer every thing rather than  
“ consent to declare against Rome. That they  
“ desired the Senate to take the Lucanians under their protection, and to defend them against the Samnites. That, though they  
“ had

*War with the Samnites.*

A. R. 454.  
Ant. C. 398.

“ had already given sufficiently strong proofs  
“ of their attachment to the Romans in draw-  
“ ing the arms of the Samnites upon them-  
“ selves, they were however ready to give  
“ hostages for their behaviour.”

The Senate was not long in deliberating upon this demand. They concluded a treaty with the Lucanians, and sent heralds immediately to the Samnites, to tell them to withdraw their troops directly from the lands of their allies. On their way they met deputies from the Samnites, who had orders to declare to them, that if they addressed themselves to any assembly of the Samnites, they would not be heard with impunity. Rome hesitated no longer, and the war was declared against the Samnites in all the forms.

The Consuls divided the provinces between them. *Hetruria* fell by lot to *Scipio*, and *Samnium* to *Fulvius*. *Scipio* expected a slow war like that of the foregoing year: but the enemy marched to meet him at *Volaterra*. The battle continued a great part of the day, and was very bloody on both sides. Night left the armies uncertain which had the advantage. The next morning distinguished the victors from the vanquished. The *Hetrurians* had abandoned their camp in the dead of night. The Romans advanced in order of battle, and perceiving, that the enemy, by their precipitate retreat, had yielded them the victory, entered the camp of the *Hetrurians*, where they took considerable spoils. From thence, the Consul led his troops into the country of the *Falisci*, and leaving his baggage in *Falerii* with a body of troops to guard it, entered the enemy's country, and put all to fire and sword, without undertaking any siege however; probably because  
he

he was not in a condition to attack the fortresses into which the Hetrurians had retired.

A. R. 474.  
Ant. C. 298.

Fulvius gained also a considerable victory over the Samnites near Bovianum, which fell to the victor's share. Soon after he took Aufidena by assault. The same year a colony was sent to Carfeoli in the country of the Æqui. The Consul Fulvius triumphed over the Samnites.

At the approach of the assemblies for the election of Consuls, a report spread, that the Hetrurians and Samnites were raising great armies; that amongst the former, the principal persons of the nation were warmly reproached in all their assemblies, for not having engaged the Gauls on their side on any conditions whatsoever: that the Samnites were very angry with their magistrates, for having opposed the Roman troops with an army intended against the Lucanians; and lastly, that two powerful people having united their forces, it appeared, that there was every thing to apprehend from this war. The most illustrious Romans, offering themselves as Candidates for the Consulship, the general alarm of the city, induced every body to cast their eyes upon Fabius Maximus, who did not stand at first; and when he saw that the suffrages seemed to declare for him, openly refused it. (a) “Why, said he, after having “passed through all employments, and received all rewards, should they at his age sol-

*Fabius is elected consul against his will.*  
Liv. l. 10. c. 13—15.

(a) Quid se jam senem, ac perfunctum laboribus laborumque præmiis, sollicitarent? Nec corporis nec animi vigorem remanere eundem. Et fortunam ipsam vereri, ne cui deorum nimia jam in se fortuna, & constatior, quam velint humanæ res, videatur. Et se gloriæ seniorum succrevisse, & ad suam gloriam consurgentes alios lætum adspicere. Nec honores magnos viris fortissimis Romæ, nec honoribus de esse fortes viros. Liv

A. R. 472.  
Ant. C. 197.

“ licite him to take upon him the command  
 “ again? That he had no longer the same  
 “ strength either of body or mind. That be-  
 “ side, he apprehended the capricious revolu-  
 “ tions of fortune, and least some divinity  
 “ should at length find his success too great, too  
 “ constant, and too much above the condition  
 “ of a mortal. That he had succeeded to the  
 “ glory of his ancestors, and that it was with  
 “ joy he saw himself succeeded by others.  
 “ That great honours were not wanting at  
 “ Rome to persons of valour, nor persons of  
 “ valour to honours.” This modest refusal  
 only augmented the people’s earnest desire of  
 him. Fabius conceiving, that he might check  
 them by respect for the laws, caused one to be  
 read, by which it was prohibited to re-elect  
 the same citizen Consul before the expiration of  
 ten years. The noise and murmuring was so  
 great, that it was scarce heard. The Tribunes  
 declared, that law should be no obstacle to the  
 desire of the assembly: and that they would  
 propose to the people, that it should be dis-  
 pensed with in respect to Fabius. The latter  
 persisted in his refusal, and asked, “ Why  
 “ laws were made, if they were to be infring-  
 “ ed by those who made them (a)? That the laws  
 “ governed no longer, but were governed by  
 “ the caprice of men.” The People however  
 persevered in their own opinion, and as each  
 century was called upon to vote, it made no  
 difficulty to nominate Fabius Consul. Over-  
 come by so determinate an unanimity, *May*  
*the Gods, Romans,* said he, *make your choice*  
*successful. For the rest as you dispose of me at*  
*your will, grant me also one favour on your side,*  
*in giving me P. Decius for my colleague, a per-*

(a) Jam regi leges, non regere.

*son certainly worthy of you, worthy of his father,* A. R. 454.  
Ant. C. 298.  
*and in whom I am sure, from the experience of  
 the past when we were Consuls together, of find-  
 ing a colleague disposed to live in perfect union with  
 me.* The demand seemed too just to admit a  
 moment's hesitation. All the centuries that re-  
 mained to vote, gave him the colleague he de-  
 sired.

This year the Ædiles cited a great number  
 of citizens to take their trials, for possessing  
 more land than the law permitted. Almost  
 none of them could justify themselves. This  
 bold and resolute proceeding gave a powerful  
 check to the avidity of particulars.

Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS IV.

P. DECIVS MVS III.

A. R. 455.  
Ant. C. 297.

Whilst the new Consuls deliberated together The Con-  
suls march  
against the  
Samnites,  
 concerning the operations of the war, the num-  
 ber of troops it was necessary to levy for each  
 army, and the province it was proper for each to obtain  
 of them to choose, deputies arrived from Su- to cut ad-  
vantages  
over them,  
and to a-  
void the  
war in  
country.  
 trium, Nepete, and Falerii, who informed the  
 Consuls, that all the States of Hetruria held as-  
 semblies in order to treat of peace. This news  
 occasioned the turning of the whole weight of the  
 war against the Samnites.

The two Consuls, set out at the same time  
 from Rome, and marched into Samnium, Fa-  
 bius through the territory of Sora, and Decius  
 through that of the Sidicini: and they took  
 different routs for the conveniency of forage  
 and provisions, and to keep the Samnites in the  
 greater uncertainty in respect to the place where  
 they should attack them. When they arrived  
 in the enemy's country, each ravaged it on his  
 side, though with less attention to plunder, than  
 to observe the enemy. The Samnites in con-

A. R. 457.  
A.U.C. 297.

sequence, who expected to attack them in passing a valley from an eminence, where they had posted themselves near Tifernum, could not surprize them. Fabius, having left his baggage in a place of security, with a body of troops sufficient to guard it, advanced with his army in order of battle to the place, where the enemy waited for him. The latter seeing themselves discovered, and that it was necessary to descend into the open field, prepared for battle with more valour than hope. For the rest, whether they had drawn together all the forces of Samnium, or that the extreme danger to which they were reduced, rendered them intrepid, they sustained the first attack with such incredible ardour and resolution, as gave the Romans terror. Fabius, seeing there was no making them give way, sent to tell the cavalry that their aid was necessary, the foot not being able to break the enemy. However, in case force should not succeed, he thought it necessary to use stratagem. He ordered Scipio his lieutenant to detach the Hastati of the first legion from the gross of the army with as little noise as possible, to take a compass with them as secretly as he could round the tops of the neighbouring mountains, and to make them shew themselves on a sudden to the enemy, and charge them in their surprize in the rear. All the orders of the Consul were punctually executed. But whatever efforts the horse used, they could neither break the ranks of the Samnites, nor penetrate them any where ; and after many ineffectual attempts were obliged to retire from the fight. Their retreat infinitely augmented the courage of the enemy, and the Romans could not long have sustained so vigorous an attack, to which success added new force,

force, if the second line, by the Consul's order, had not taken the place of the first. These entirely fresh troops put a stop to the impetuosity of the enemy. At the same moment, the Hastati appeared very opportunely on the top of the mountains, and raised loud cries. The alarm was great amongst the Samnites, and Fabius augmented it considerably, in spreading a rumour, that it was his colleague Decius who approached. All the troops immediately cried out with the greatest joy, that the other Consul was at hand with his legions. This error, which was of the greatest advantage to the Romans, put the Samnites into a consternation. In their fear of being attacked after a long and rude battle, that had extremely fatigued them, by troops newly arrived, and entirely fresh, they betook themselves to flight, and dispersed on all sides. This prevented the slaughter from being very considerable, and proportioned to the greatness of the victory. Only three thousand four hundred men were killed, and three hundred and thirty taken, with twenty three ensigns.

The Apulians would have joined the Samnites before the battle, if the Consul P. Decius, who had incamped before Maleventum (afterwards called Beneventum) had not given them battle, and defeated them. They made no long resistance; and in consequence lost only two thousand men. Decius having nothing to fear from them, marched his troops into Samnium.

When he arrived there, the two Consular armies dispersing on all sides, ravaged the whole country during the space of five months. Decius encamped in forty-five different places, and the other Consul in fourscore and six. The troops left every where behind them in Sam-

A. R. 411  
A. C. 297.

them sad traces of their encampments. Fabius took also the city of Cimetra, and in it two thousand four hundred prisoners, and lost only four hundred and thirty men in attacking that place.

Ap. Clau-  
dius  
the  
second  
Consul.

Fabius returned to Rome to preside in the election of the new Consuls. The Centuries that were first called upon to give their votes, continued him unanimously. Appius Claudius, a person of Consular dignity, who presented himself amongst the rest of the candidates, a warm and ambitious man, employed his whole credit, and that of all the nobility, in order to be elected Consul with Fabius; less, said he, for his private interest, than for the honour of the whole body of the Patricians, whom he was resolved to re-establish in the possession of both Consulships.

Fabius urged the same reasons as the year before for not accepting the honour the People were for conferring upon him. All the nobility surrounded his seat, and desired him to rescue the Consulship from the dregs and filth of the People, and restore the order of the Patricians, and the dignity itself, to their ancient splendor.

Fabius having caused silence to be made, calmed this warm solicitude by a discourse full of reason and moderation. “He said that he  
“ should willingly have contributed to the elec-  
“ tion of two Patricians, if he saw any other  
“ Consul besides himself intended to be chosen:  
“ but that in nominating himself, he could not  
“ consent to a thing directly contrary to the  
“ laws, nor be the author of so pernicious an  
“ example.” In consequence, L. Volumnius the Plebeian was chosen Consul with Ap. Claudius, who had already been Consuls together before. The nobility reproached Fabius, with  
having

having avoided Appius as a colleague, because he knew his superiority, both in the talent of speaking, and the administration of civil affairs.

L. VOLUMNIUS, II.

AP. CLAUDIUS, II.

A. R. 455.

Ant. C. 297.

After the election of magistrates, the preceding Consuls were continued in the command for six months, and they had orders to carry on the war in Samnium. Decius was actually upon the spot where his colleague had left him. He ravaged the country incessantly, till he had at length obliged the army of the enemy to quit it. Driven out in that manner from Samnium, they took refuge in Hetruria, and persuaded, that at the head of a numerous army, mingling terror with entreaties, they should more effectually succeed in what they had not hitherto been able to obtain by their deputies, notwithstanding their frequent attempts ; they demanded that an assembly of the principal persons of the nation should be called. When they were assembled, they represented by Gellius Egnatius their general, how many years they had fought with the Romans for liberty. “ That they had spared no means for sustaining  
“ the weight of so formidable a war with their  
“ own forces : that they had endeavoured to  
“ strengthen themselves by the aid of some  
“ neighbouring states of small power : that not  
“ being able to support the war, they had de-  
“ manded peace of the Roman people : that by  
“ the desire natural to all men of preserving and  
“ re-instating their liberty, a desire which force  
“ may reduce to be silent for a time, but can  
“ never entirely extinguish, they had thrown

*Decius,*

*wh. is con-*

*tinued in*

*command*

*for six*

*months, de-*

*feats the*

*army of the*

*Samnites*

*and obliges*

*it to quit*

*the country.*

*It goes to*

*join the He-*

*trurians.*

*Liv. l. 6.*

*c. 16.*

A. R. 4:6.  
Ann. C. 296.

“ off entirely the yoke of servitude. That  
 “ there now remained no resource for them but  
 “ the Hetrurians. That they knew them  
 “ to be the most powerful nation of Italy in  
 “ arms, men, and riches, who had for their  
 “ neighbours the Gauls, born in the midst of  
 “ camps and arms, and naturally bold and  
 “ fierce, especially against the Roman people,  
 “ from whom they boasted with pleasure, and  
 “ not without foundation, that they had taken  
 “ their city, and reduced their haughtiness to  
 “ ransom itself with money. That if the He-  
 “ trurians retained the same greatness of mind  
 “ and generosity that Porfena and their ancestors  
 “ had formerly shewn, they were in a condi-  
 “ tion to give the law to the Romans, to drive  
 “ them out of all the country on this side of  
 “ the Tiber, and to reduce them to fight, no  
 “ longer for the empire of Italy, but for their  
 “ own safety and preservation. That they had  
 “ brought with them an army entirely prepared  
 “ for service, and provided with arms, mo-  
 “ ney, and every thing necessary for making  
 “ war.”

D. C. 1. 10.

Ann. C. 296.

Ann. C. 296.

Ann. C. 296.

Ann. C. 296.

Ann. C. 296.

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Ann. C. 296.

Ann. C. 296.

Ann. C. 296.

Ann. C. 296.

Ann. C. 296.

Whilst the Samnites, full of vain presumption,  
 were so active in Hetruria, their country was  
 abandoned to fire and sword. But Decius, ex-  
 horting his troops not to confine themselves to  
 plundering the country, and to seek a richer  
 booty in the cities, formed the siege of Murgan-  
 tia, one of the strongest places in Samnium. The  
 soldiers behaved there with so much ardor, that  
 they carried the place by assault in one day.  
 More than two thousand Samnites were made  
 prisoners, with very considerable spoils. But  
 that the troops might not be clogged with their  
 booty, Decius advised them to sell it. The low  
 price

price set on it, brought purchasers in crouds. A. R. 456.  
 The fate of Romulea was still more deplorable. Ant. C. 296.  
 The soldiers scaled its walls in an instant, took the city, and plundered it. Two thousand three hundred men were killed, and six thousand made prisoners in it. The booty was great, and the soldiers sold it as they had the first. Ferentinum made more resistance: about three thousand Samnites perished there.

The discourse of Egnatius had produced all the effect that could be expected from it. Almost all the Hetrurians had taken arms: the people of Umbria were drawn in by their example, and the aid of the Gauls was solicited. This news occasioned great alarm at Rome. The Consul L. Volumnius was already set out with two legions for Samnium, and fifteen thousand troops of the allies. Ap. Claudius his colleague was ordered to march directly for Hetruria. He carried two legions, and twelve thousand allies with him, and encamped near the enemy. His sudden arrival served to prevent some States of Hetruria from taking arms: but in other respects he shewed little ability in his conduct, and had less success. He engaged at several times and places with disadvantage; which highly augmented the enemy's boldness, and greatly discouraged the Roman army; so that the Consul neither relied upon his troops, nor the troops upon the Consul.

Things were in this condition, when Volumnius arrived with his army from Samnium, in effect of a letter which he pretended to have received from his colleague. Appius denied that he had wrote to him, and gave him a very bad reception; asking him in an insulting manner, how he, who scarce sufficed for the affairs of his own province,

*Volumnius marches into Samnium, and Appius into Hetruria, where he has little success.*

*Volumnius, in a letter from his colleague, marches to Hetruria. He is very ill received by the latter. The troops oblige him to stay there. Liv. l. 10. c. 18, 19.*

A. R. 471.  
A. D. C. 296.

province, came to obtrude his aid upon another without being desired. Volumnius replied without emotion, “ That he came only in consequence of the letter he had received from him. “ That as it was a forged thing, he would set out immediately on his return for Samnium : “ That he was much better pleased with having “ made an useless march, than to find his colleague’s army in a condition to want his assistance.” They had already parted from each other, when Appius’s lieutenant-generals, and the principal officers of his army, repaired to him, and earnestly desired him not to refuse the aid which his good fortune offered him, and which he ought to have called in himself. Others applied to Volumnius, and conjured him not to betray the commonwealth through an ill-judged resentment to his colleague. They represented to him, “ That if any misfortune should “ happen to the army, it would be imputed “ rather to him than to Appius, because it “ actually depended solely on him to have “ averted it. That things were in such a state, “ that from thenceforth the honour and disgrace “ of the good and bad success in Hetruria “ would fall solely on Volumnius. That nobody would enquire what Appius said, but in “ what condition and necessity the army was. “ That Appius indeed sent him away, but that “ the commonwealth and army required his “ continuance there : To confirm which he “ had only to sound the sense of the soldiers.”

The army had insensibly assembled round the two Consuls. The same things which had been repeated in private, were there repeated in public, but with more extent. As Volumnius, who was undoubtedly superior in the present occasion  
of

of debate to his colleague, though much inferior to him in eloquence, which was Appius's great talent, expressed himself however with sufficient happiness and propriety ; Appius, in a tone of raillery, said, " The world was obliged to him " that Volumnius, formerly almost mute, was " now become an eloquent speaker, that in the " beginning of his first Consulship he could " scarce open his mouth, and that now he made " speeches and harangued in a popular manner." *I had rather*, replied Volumnius, *that you had learned of me to act courageously, than I of you to speak eloquently.* He added, " That " to demonstrate which of the two Consuls was, " not the best orator, that little concerned the " commonwealth in the present conjuncture, but " the best general, he gave him the choice either of Samnium or Hetruria ; and that as " for him, he should be satisfied with either of " the two provinces which his colleague should " think fit to leave him." The soldiers upon that demanded aloud, that they should both act jointly in Hetruria. Volumnius seeing this unanimous concurrence : *After having had the misfortune*, said he, *of being deceived in respect to what my colleague would have of me, I will not expose myself to being again mistaken in what you desire of me, soldiers. If you desire I should stay, let me know it in a manner not obscure and ambiguous.* The whole army raised so great and general a cry, that it made the enemy quit their camp, and immediately draw up in battle. Volumnius did the same. It is said that Appius, seeing whether he fought or no, his colleague would have the whole honour of the victory, was at first in suspense how he should act : but afterwards that his fear, lest his troops should follow Volumnius without

A. R. 476.  
Ant. C. 296.

A. R. 465. without him, determined him to give them also  
Ant. C. 298. the signal, which they demanded eagerly.

*The two  
Consuls  
gain a con-  
siderable  
victory  
over the  
Hetruri-  
ans, whom  
the Sam-  
nites had  
joined.  
Liv. l. 10.  
c. 19.*

The armies did not form themselves commodiously on either side. Egnatius, the general of the Samnites, was absent with a small detachment of foragers, and as his soldiers fought without either leader or orders, they followed only their own impetuosity. The Roman armies, on the other side, had not moved at the same time, and had not had time to form their ranks as they should have done. Volumnius was at blows with the enemy, before Appius came up. By an accidental change of the enemy Volumnius had the Hetrurians, and Appius the Samnites, in front of him. The latter, in the heat of the battle, vowed a temple to Bellona, and believed himself that moment inspired with new ardor. Both Consuls discharged alike all the duties of generals. The soldiers on their side made extraordinary efforts, that the other army might not have the honour of giving the first turn to the victory. In consequence they broke and put the enemy to flight, and pursued them to their camp. Egnatius having hastened thither with his Samnites, the battle was renewed, and with more vigour than at first. The enemy were obliged to give way again. The victors already attacked the camp. The two Consuls encouraged their troops in emulation of each other, who passed the fossés, tore up the palisades, and made themselves masters of the camp. The spoils, which were very considerable, were abandoned to them. On the side of the enemy, above seven thousand men were killed, and more than two thousand made prisoners.

Whilst

Whilst the two Consuls, who had with them almost all the Roman forces, were employed in Etruria, the Samnites having raised a new army, passed through the country of the Vescinians into Campania and the country of Falernum, and carried off a very great booty. Volumnius, who returned by great marches into Samnium, (for the term during which Fabius and Decius had been continued in command was upon the point of expiring) arrived happily at that instant. In passing through the country of the Calenians; he saw the still recent traces of the horrible ravages which had been committed there, and was informed, that the Samnites were near Vulturnum, from whence they were to set out the following night, in order to deposite the rich spoils with which they were laden in Samnium, and then to return to their expedition. Having well assured himself of the truth of all these circumstances, he advanced, and halted at so proper a distance from the enemy, that his proximity could not make known his arrival, and he could fall upon them by surprize, when they quitted their camp. The thing happened as he had projected. He advanced very near the enemy a little before day, and making all his trumpets sound on a sudden, attacked them. It is easy to imagine their disorder and confusion. And to compleat their misfortune, the prisoners they were carrying away, having broken their chains, unbound their companions, and taking arms which they found amongst the baggage, turned them against themselves. They also did a memorable action. Seeing Staius Minacius, the Samnite general, running through the ranks and exhorting his soldiers, they fell upon him, took him prisoner, and brought him to the Consul.

A. R. 446.

Ant. C. 296.

*Volumnius**returns in-**to Samni-**um. He**defeats the**Samnites**there, and**takes from**them the**plunder**they had**got in Cam-**pania.*

Liv. l. 10.

c. 20.

A. R. 456.  
Ant. C. 226.

Consul. In this battle about six thousand men were killed, two thousand five hundred made prisoners, with four principal officers, and thirty ensigns taken. But what gave the victors the greatest joy, was the recovery of seven thousand four hundred prisoners, whom the Samnites were carrying off, with all the booty, which they had taken from the allies of the Romans. A day was given them to discover and take back what belonged to them: the rest was abandoned to the soldiers.

*News  
from H-  
etruria  
gave ter-  
ror at  
Rome.*

This incursion into the country of Campania had made a great noise at Rome; and terrible accounts arrived at the same time from Hetruria, that since the departure of Volumnius every thing was in motion there. That the Hetrurians and Samnites had taken arms again, that they solicited the Umbrians to revolt, and that they were endeavouring with money to make the Gauls enter into the common league. These fears were serious, and too well founded. The Senate in consequence decreed a suspension of business public and private, which was usual in great dangers of the commonwealth. Great levies of soldiers were made, without distinction of age or condition, and even the old men and the freed-men were made to take arms. Nothing was omitted, that seemed necessary for the defence of the city.

*The news  
of the de-  
feat of the  
Samnites  
lessens the  
alarm.*

The Prætor Sempronius, in the absence of the two Consuls, was at the head of affairs in the city, and directed all these measures. But letters from the Consul Volumnius with advice of the entire defeat of those troops of plunderers who had ravaged Campania, soon restored the tranquillity of Rome. The administration of justice, which had been suspended during  
eighteen

eighteen days, was no longer discontinued. Public thanksgivings to the Gods were decreed in the Consul's name, for the great advantages he had gained, and the People acquitted themselves of that duty with a zeal and devotion very laudable in Pagans.

A. R. 456.  
Ant. C. 296.

These advantages were in reality very considerable, and deserved to be regarded, not only as the effect of the good-fortune of Volumnius, but of his prudence, activity, vigilance, and other abilities in the art of war. I admire no less his extreme moderation and coolness of temper in his dispute with Appius, who makes no great figure on that occasion. A secret jealousy, which always argues a meanness of spirit, and especially his indecent raillery of a colleague, who had come a great way, and quitted his post, only to do him service, are some diminution of his merit, though great in other respects. The good success of the battle should, one would think, have reconciled him to Volumnius, and yet we see with pain the latter set out from Hetruria, without receiving the least mark of amity, or even esteem, from Appius, though a colleague, to whom himself and his army were undoubtedly indebted for being delivered from exceeding danger. Indeed nothing can be judged in respect to the letter the one said he had received, and the other denied he had wrote.

After the duties of religion were discharged at Rome, the next care was to secure the repose and tranquillity of the people whose lands had been ravaged by the Samnites. For this purpose, it was thought proper to settle two colonies, the one at the mouth of the Liris, which was called Minturnæ ; and the other, on a neck of

*Two colonies  
were sent  
into Sam-  
pulia.*

A. R. 456.  
Ant. C. 296.

of land, which took its name from the city of Vescia, near the territory of Falernum, where a Greek city called Sinope is said to have stood, and to which the Roman colony afterwards gave the name of \* Sinuessā. It was hard to find citizens that would enter themselves for these colonies, because they considered them less as quiet settlements, than as places always liable to be infested by restless and formidable neighbours.

• *lives long before, men. then the names which they  
tion the territories, and it is had not a great while after.*

THE  
ROMAN HISTORY.

## BOOK THE TENTH.

**T**HIS tenth book contains the space of thirty years, from the 457th to the 487th year of Rome, and comes down to the first Punic war. It contains several wars against the Hetrurians, Samnites, and other States of Italy, and especially against Pyrrhus. It is in this last war that Fabricius and Curius distinguish themselves, as much by their extraordinary virtue, as their valour.

## S E C T. I.

*Upon the report of terrible preparations of war in  
Hetruria, Q. Fabius and P. Decius are chosen  
Consuls. Altar instituted to Plebeian Chastity.  
Usurers fined. Slight disputes between the two  
Consuls in respect to Hetruria, which is decreed  
to Fabius. He repairs thither. Some time af-  
ter he is recalled to Rome, and then sent back in-  
to Hetruria with Decius and new troops. Fa-  
mous battle with the Samnites and Gauls in  
Hetruria. Decius devotes himself in it. The  
Romans gain the victory. Triumph of Fabius.  
War against the Samnites, and in Hetruria.  
Terrible preparations of war on the side of the  
Samnites. Whilst Carvilius besieges Cominium,*

*Papirius fights a famous battle near Aquilonia, in which the Samnites are cut to pieces. The city of Cominium is taken. Great joy at Rome for these victories. The Hetrurians take arms: Carvilius marches against them. Papirius returns to Rome, and is honoured with a triumph. Carvilius triumphs also, after having defeated the Hetrurians. Census compleated. Plague rages dreadfully at Rome.*

A. R. 217.  
A. U. C. 295.

Q. FABIVS, V.  
P. DECIVS, IV.

*Upon the return of great preparations for war in Hetruria. Q. Fabius and P. Decius re-lected Consuls. Liv. l. 10. c. 21, 22.*

**A**PPIUS, who had remained in Hetruria, wrote letters after letters to advise Rome of the danger, with which it was menaced. He said, that four armies had united their forces: the Hetrurians, the Samnites, the Umbrians, and the Gauls: that they had divided their forces into two camps, because one could not contain so great a number of troops. This news caused the Consul Volumnius to be recalled to Rome, to preside at the election of new magistrates. Before he took the suffrages of the Centuries, he assembled the People, and expatiated much upon the importance of the war in question. He represented, “ that from  
“ the time he had been in Hetruria with his  
“ colleague, one general and one army did  
“ not suffice for sustaining the war. That it was  
“ said the Umbrians, and great succours from  
“ the Gauls, had joined the former enemy.  
“ That they should remember, in giving their  
“ suffrages, that they were choosing Consuls,  
“ to oppose four powerful People. That if  
“ he did not assure himself, that the Roman  
“ people would choose the person Consul, who  
“ was indisputably the greatest of all their ge-  
“ nerals,

“nerals, he should declare him Dictator di-  
 “rectly. A. R. 457.  
Ant. C. 295.

It was perfectly understood, that he meant Q. Fabius. In consequence the suffrages all declared for him, and the People intended to give him L. Volumnius for a colleague. I desire the reader to observe the perpetual attention of the Roman people, and of their chiefs, to confer the command of their armies upon persons of merit universally known, especially in times of difficulty and danger. This is one of the causes, which contributed most to aggrandize the Roman empire. Fabius excused himself, as he had done the two preceding years, but as ineffectually. He therefore confined himself to demanding Decius again for a colleague, and represented, “that it would be a great support and relief to his advanced age. That he “had found by experience, during their being “Censors, and their two Consulships together, “how much the union between colleagues “conduces to the service of the public. That “an old man habituates himself with difficulty “to a new companion in authority ; whereas “he is much more easy and open with one, to “whose manners and humour he is accustomed.” The Consul, far from taking offence at this kind of exclusion by Fabius, came in with joy to so just a demand, giving Decius the praises he deserved, and insisting strongly upon the great advantages in military government, that resulted from the good understanding of the Consuls, and the infinite evils, that attended their dissention, of which he was very near making a sad experience in the disputes, that had passed between him and his colleague ; and he exhorted Decius and Fabius to live in perfect union with each other. He added, “that  
 S 2 “there

A. R. 477. " there (a) were men born for war, and capa-  
 A. B. C. 293. " ble of the greatest actions, but not happy at  
 " wordy controversies and disputes: that  
 " those were the characters formed by nature  
 " for the Consulship. That there were others  
 " penetrating, hard to deceive, versed in the  
 " laws, and eloquent, as Appius Claudius was,  
 " and that they were the proper persons to  
 " preside in the city, on the Tribunals, in the  
 " assemblies of the Forum, and be elected  
 " Prætors for the administration of justice." The  
 day passed in these preliminaries and prepara-  
 tions. The next morning came on the electi-  
 on both of Consuls and Prætors, and was made  
 conformably to the advice of Volumnius. Q.  
 Fabius and P. Decius were elected Consuls, and  
 Ap. Claudius Prætor; all absent, the two first  
 from the field of Mars, and the latter from the  
 city. The Senate and People continued Volum-  
 nius in command for a year longer.

Many prodigies happened this year. To a-  
 vert their effects, solemn processions were de-  
 creed and made. In that to the temple of Pa-  
 trician Chastity, there happened a dispute be-  
 tween the Roman ladies, which made abun-  
 dance of noise. They denied Virginia entrance  
 into it, because being of a Patrician family,  
 she had married Volumnius who was a Plebeian.  
 She complained highly of that affront, which  
 she did not deserve, because she had a right as  
 well as the rest to enter that chapel, being a  
 Patrician, of exemplary chastity, and having  
 never been married but once, and that to a

(a) Eñe præterea viros tizæ consultos, qualis Ap.  
 natos militum. factis magnos, Claudius effet, urbi ac foro  
 ad verborum lingueque cer- præfides habendos, prætores  
 tamina rudes: ea ingenia que ad reddenda jura crean-  
 Consularia esse. Callidos so- dos esse. Liv.  
 letique juris atque eloquen-

person,

person, whose dignities and great actions reflected the highest honour and glory upon her. She did not confine herself to barren complaints. She fitted up a chapel in her own habitation, separate from all the rest of the building, and placed an altar in it. Then having assembled the Plebian ladies, (a) *I consecrate this altar, said she, to Plebeian Chastity; and my view is, that no less emulation, than prevails amongst the men of this city in respect to valour and honour, may prevail amongst the women in respect to chastity. Be it your care therefore that people say this altar is adored with more devotion, if possible, and by women of stricter chastity, than the other.* This was a very wise and religious revenge of an affront, to which the ladies are extremely sensible. This new chapel became as famous as the old one, and the same ceremonies were observed in it, that is to say, none but women of distinguished chastity, and who had been married but once, were admitted into it.

A. R. 457.  
Ant. C. 295.

It is remarkable, that amongst the Pagans, second marriages, of men as well as women, were deemed a disgrace. According to (b) Tertullian, the great Pontiff at Rome could not marry a second wife. We see in Propertius, a Roman lady, who takes honour to herself, for having had only one husband, and is for having that circumstance mentioned on her tomb.

(a) Hanc ego aram, inquit, pudicitiae plebeiae dedico; vosque hortor, ut, quod certamen virtutis viros in hac civitate tenet, hoc pudicitiae inter matronas sit; detis operam, ut haec ara, quam illa,

si quid potest, sanctius & castioribus coli dicatur. *Liv.*

(b) Duo ipsi Pontifici maximo matrimonia iterare non licet. *Tertull. Exhort. ad castit. c. 13.*

Pontifex maximus nubet semel. *Id. de Monog. c. 17.*

A. R. 457.  
A.D. C. 295.

*Jungor, Paule, tuo, sic discessura, cubili :  
In lapide hoc, uni nupta fuisse, legar.*

Propert. l. 4. v. 11.—35.

The same praise is extant in many ancient inscriptions.

MATRĪ CARISSIMÆ  
OMNIUM. FÆMINÆ  
SANCTIORI. UNIVIRÆ  
MÆCIANÆ CONJ. INCOMPARABILI  
UNIVIRÆ ET. CASTISSIMÆ

Dido in Virgil understands it as a crime contrary to the faith she has sworn to her first husband, to marry another, and seems resolved to die rather than dishonour herself by so shameful an action.

*Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima debiscat —  
Ante pudor quam te violem, aut tua jura resolvam.  
Ille meos, primus qui me sibi junxit, amores  
Abstulit : ille habeat secum, servetque sepulcro.*  
Æneid. l. 4. v. 24, &c.

(a) Plutarch, in speaking of the Romans, says, that first marriages were highly in honour, and second in no less disgrace amongst them : and (b) Valerius Maximus says, that the crown of chastity was granted only to the women, who had been contented with one marriage.

(a) Ζηλωτοὶ γὰρ ὁ πρῶτος  
γάμος, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἀπειχίατος.  
*Detestandæ.*

(b) Quæ uno contentæ

matrimonio fuerant, corona  
pudicitiae honorabantur. *Val.*  
*Max. l. 1.*

Amongst

Amongst the Jews, the law of Moses prohibited the high-priest to marry a widow. A. R. 457. Ant. C. 29. St. Levit. xxi. 13, 14. Paul is very far from condemning second marriages : but amongst the qualities of a bishop he puts that of having been only once married : *the husband of one wife*. The twice-married were not admitted into holy orders. But to return to our history.

The same year, the Curule Ædiles cited some Usurers to a trial, who were condemned Usurers fined. in sufficiently considerable fines. Those sums were applied in different ornaments for the temples, and in other publick works.

The two Consuls Fabius and Decius, who entered at this time upon office, were now colleagues for the third time in the Consulship, as they had been in the office of Censors. They were famous not only for the glory of their actions, which was great, but the perfect union which had always prevailed between them. Slight dispute between the Consuls concerning Hetruria, which is decreed to Fabius. That union was a little interrupted at present by a dispute that arose, less between them, than between the different orders of which they were. He repairs thither. Liv. l. 10. c. 23. 29. The Patricians were for having Fabius assume the province of Hetruria by privilege : the Plebeians, interesting themselves for Decius, demanded, that the provinces should be drawn by lot according to the usual custom. The Senate having given the affair in favour of Fabius, it was brought before the People. As the dispute was between military persons, more accustomed to act than to harangue, the pleadings were not long. Fabius said, “ It was not reasonable that another should gather the fruits  
“ he alone had planted. That every body  
“ knew, he was the first, who had penetrated  
“ thro’ the Ciminian forest, and opened a way  
“ for the Roman armies into a country till

A. R. 457.  
Ant. C. 295.

“ then inaccessible. Why at so advanced an  
 “ age as his, had he been almost forced out  
 “ of a state of repose, if the war were to be  
 “ made by another general? He even modest-  
 “ ly reproached his colleague for having proved  
 “ an adversary, rather than the aid and asso-  
 “ ciate in command he expected to have found  
 “ him. He added, that Decius seemed to re-  
 “ pent the union which had subsisted hitherto  
 “ between them. That as to him he confin-  
 “ ed himself to demanding to be sent into  
 “ Hetruria, if he were thought worthy of it.  
 “ That for the rest, as he had referred himself  
 “ on that head to the judgment of the Senate,  
 “ so he submitted to that of the People.”

Decius began by complaining of the in-  
 justice of the Senate. *The Senators, said he,*  
*long used their utmost endeavours to exclude the*  
*Pebeians entirely from all great offices. Since*  
*virtue has forced the barriers they laid in its way,*  
*and independently of race and birth, has caused*  
*the honours to be rendered it, that are its due,*  
*they seek a means for rendering void and ineffectual*  
*not only the suffrages of the People, but even the*  
*favours of fortune, in reducing them to the power*  
*of a small number of persons. All the Consuls be-*  
*fore me, have drawn lots, for their provinces: but*  
*now by a special privilege, contrary to all custom,*  
*the Senate is for granting Hetruria to Fabius. If*  
*it be to reward his merit, Fabius has done me per-*  
*sonally, and the commonwealth in general, such*  
*great services, that I shall always make it a*  
*duty as well as a pleasure to promote his glory, so*  
*long as it shall not turn to my own dishonour. But*  
*can any body doubt, when there is one difficult and*  
*dangerous war on foot, and the care of it is con-*  
*fided without drawing lots to one of the Consuls,*  
*that the other is considered as incapable and of no*  
*use.*

*use. Fabius takes the honour to himself, and not without foundation, for the great actions he has done in Hetruria, and as for me I aspire at the same glory. Who knows, but this fire which Fabius has left covered under the ashes, and which suddenly and so often breaks out afresh, I may not be so successful to extinguish totally and for ever. If only honours and rewards were in question, I could freely resign them to my colleague out of respect for his age and merit : but when dangers and battles are to be sustained for the safety of the commonwealth, I think I cannot in honour give place to him. And after all it is of good example, and for the glory of the Roman people, to have those in office, to whom they can indifferently confide the care of so important a war as that of Hetruria.*

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Ant. C. 295.

Fabius, without any farther reply, contented himself with desiring, that the letter which was come from the Prætor Ap. Claudius in Hetruria, might be read, before the Tribes were called upon to give their suffrages : after which he quitted the assembly. The People declared themselves with no less ardour and passion for Fabius, than the Senate had done ; and Hetruria was decreed to him for his province without drawing lots.

The youth ran in crouds to list, so much did they desire to serve under Fabius. He contented himself with four thousand foot, and six hundred horse, and set out with this little numerous army, but full of confidence, because they saw that their general did not believe he wanted more troops for gaining the victory. He arrived at the city of Aharna, not far from the enemy, and advanced towards the camp of the Prætor Appius. A detachment discovering the Liçtors, and being informed, that Fabius was arrived, ran to meet him. The officers and soldiers,

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A. U. C. 295.

soldiers, in the highest joy, returned thanks to the Gods for having sent them such a general. Fabius having asked them, where they were going, and been answered to fetch in wood: *Is not your camp intrenched then, said he? It has two good intrenchments and a very deep ditch,* replied they; *and yet the whole army is in very great terror.* The Consul ordered them to pull up the palisades, and they did so immediately; which much augmented the dread of the soldiers in the camp, and especially of Appius. As this operation surprized every body extremely, the workmen upon being questioned, said only, that they were obeying the Consul Fabius's orders. He decamped the next day, and sent the Prætor Appius to Rome. After he was gone, the Romans had no longer any fixed and durable camp. He said, that it was not for the advantage of an army to continue always or long in the same place: that marching and change rendered it fitter for action, and contributed to the health of the soldiers. The marches were not long, and continued only as the winter-season, which was not quite over, would admit.

*Fabius is  
returned to  
Rome, and  
renewed  
back to He-  
luntia  
with De-  
cius and  
new troops.*

In the beginning of the spring, having left the second legion at Clusium, a city of the Camertes, a people of Umbria, and given the command of the camp to the Pro-prætor L. Scipio, he returned to Rome, whether of his own accord, in order to concert measures with the Senate for the conduct of a war, of the importance of which he had had a nearer experience, or, which is more probable, that he had been sent for by the Senate, perhaps upon the remonstrances of Appius. For Appius was one of those generals, who, for want of courage and experience, can see nothing but difficulties,  
multi-

multiply dangers, suffer themselves to be easily terrified, and communicate their fears to others.

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He was incessantly representing in the Senate,  
 “ That a single army and one general were  
 “ not sufficient to make head against four States.  
 “ That if they united all their forces, they  
 “ could not fail of crushing him by their numbers ; and, if they acted separately, he would  
 “ not be able alone to oppose so many enemies  
 “ every where. That when he set out from  
 “ the army, he had left only two Roman legions there ; and that the troops Fabius had  
 “ brought with him, did not amount to five  
 “ thousand men, horse and foot. That he was  
 “ of opinion, that the Consul P. Decius should  
 “ set out as soon as possible to join his colleague in Etruria, and that the command of  
 “ the troops in Samnium should be given to  
 “ Volumnius. That, if the Consul chose rather  
 “ to remain in his province, it was necessary to  
 “ send Volumnius into Etruria with a sufficient  
 “ number of troops, and a Consular army.”

As great part of the Senate seemed to give into the Prætor's sentiments, Decius represented, that in an affair of that importance, nothing could well be decided without first consulting Fabius: that therefore it was proper to stay either till he came in person, or till he sent one of his lieutenants, to inform the Senate of what concerned the war in Etruria, and enable it to decree with some knowledge of the affair all that was necessary to the success of the Roman arms on that side. It was probably in effect of this advice that Fabius was sent for.

When he arrived at Rome, he gave the Senate and People an account of the State of affairs in Etruria. He did it in a simple and natural manner, without either disguising, augmenting,

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Ant. C. 295

menting, or diminishing any thing. He related things just as they were ; and, if he consented to receive a second general into the joint command, it was rather out of condescension to the terror and consternation of the public, than the persuasion, that either the Commonwealth, or himself, had occasion for such a coadjutor. He was left entirely at liberty to choose whom he thought fit. He was not long in fixing upon Decius, who on his side was as soon determined, and believed himself much honoured by such a choice. The joy of Rome was universal, to see so perfect an union between those two great men, and from that moment every body assured themselves of victory.

Livy observes, that authors differ in their accounts of several circumstances related hitherto; but that they agree better concerning those that follow.

For the rest, Fabius's absence cost the army dear. The legion he had left at Clusium was surprized by the Gauls, and entirely cut to pieces.

The two Consuls set out from Rome with four legions, and a numerous body of Roman cavalry, without including that of the Campanians, which consisted of a thousand chosen horse. The troops of the allies were still more numerous. Besides this, there were two other armies ready to act against Hetruria, both near Rome, the one in the country of Falerii, and the other in the plain of the Vatican close to Rome : they were commanded by the Pro-prætors Cn. Fulvius, and L. Postumius Megellus.

*Fabius battles with the Samnites and Gauls in Hetruria. Decius detaches himself in it. The Romans gain the victory.*

The Consuls, having passed the Apennines, arrived in the country of Sentinum, and incamped four miles from the enemy. It was here

here they were informed by their own eyes of the sad defeat of the Roman legion, the cavalry of the Gauls carrying the heads of the Romans upon the points of their spears, and hanging before the breast-plates of their horses.

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Ant. C. 295.

The enemy in a council of war, agreed, that it was neither proper to shut themselves up all together in one camp, nor to give battle in one body. The Gauls joined the Samnites, and the Umbrians the Hetrurians. A day was fixed for the battle: and the Samnites and Gauls were to fight it. The Hetrurians and Umbrians had orders to attack the Roman camp in the heat and confusion of the action. But these measures were disconcerted, the Consuls having got intelligence of them. Three deserters of Clusium brought them that important advice. They were well rewarded, and sent back with orders to inform themselves of every thing as exactly as possible, and bring back a good account of them. In the meantime the Consuls sent orders to Fulvius and Postumius to march their armies towards Clusium, and to ravage all the enemy's country: this they executed without loss of time. Upon the news of those incursions, the Hetrurians quitted the country of Sentinum, in order to defend their own lands.

This was a reason for the Consuls to hasten a battle. The two first days passed in slight skirmishes on both sides in order to try one another. The third both armies moved in earnest. Whilst they were drawing up in battle, an hind pursued by a wolf, crossed them. The two beasts divided, and each took different ways, the hind towards the Gauls, and the wolf towards the Romans. The latter opened a way for the wolf through their ranks; the Gauls  
killed

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killed the hind. Upon that a Roman soldier in the front cried out : *Flight and defeat are the lot of those, who have just killed the animal sacred to Diana. The wolf, protected by Mars, victorious and without a wound, puts us in mind of our Founder, and that we are a martial race.* Every body knows, that in those ancient times facts are frequently embellished with the Marvelous.

The Gauls were on the right, and the Samnites on the left wings. Fabius at the head of the first and third legions against the Samnites ; and Decius on the left with the fifth and sixth against the Gauls. The charge in the beginning was sustained with so much equality on both sides, that if the Hettrurians and Umbrians had shared in the battle, or had attacked the camp during the action, as had been at first concluded, the Romans would infallibly have suffered some considerable loss.

Though neither side had yet the advantage, and it could not be judged which would be victorious, the two wings of the Romans fought in a quite different manner. On Fabius's side they were more employed in sustaining the attack of the enemy, than in charging them with vigour ; which occasioned the battle's being spun out till night. The (a) Consuls reason was, because the Samnites and Gauls were only formidable in their first charge, which it sufficed to sustain well : that the force and courage of the Samnites perpetually decreased, in pro-

(a). Ita persuasum erat Du-  
ci, & Samnites & Gallos pri-  
mo impetu teroces esse, quos  
retineri satis sit. Longiore  
certamine senim relidere  
Samnitum animos : Gallo-

rum quidem etiam corpora  
intolerantissima laboris atque  
æltus fluere, primaque eorum  
prælia plulquam virorum,  
potrema minus quam femi-  
narum esse. Liq.

portion

portion to the length of the battle : that the bodies themselves of the Gauls, incapable of supporting heat and fatigue, insensibly grew weak, and lost all their vigour ; and as in the beginning of the battle they were more than men, in the end of it they were less than women. Fabius therefore reserved the force and vivacity of his troops for the time, when those of the enemy should begin to flag. (I do not know whether the Gauls of ancient times were such as Livy describes them in this place. It is certain that their successors the French scarce resemble them now : witness the last campaigns in Italy and Germany.)

It was not the same on the side where Decius commanded. As his years and complexion made him more active, he employed all his force from the beginning of the action. As the infantry seemed to act too slowly and not to second his ardour with sufficient vivacity, he made the cavalry advance, and putting himself at the head of the bravest squadron, he desired the noble youth of which it was composed, to charge the enemy with him, representing to them, “ That they would acquire double glory “ if the victory began both by the left wing “ and by the horse.” They put the cavalry of the Gauls twice into disorder. But pushing them too far, whilst they were engaged in the midst of the enemy’s, squadrons, a new kind of fight amazed them. Horsemen in chariots of different kinds, from which they fought, attacked them unexpectedly. The neighing of the horses, and the noise of the wheels, to which the Roman horse were not accustomed, frightened and made them unruly. The cavalry, victorious but a moment before, were seized with a kind of panic, which made them dis-  
perse

A. R. 457.  
Ant. C. 295.

*Effedis,*  
*carriisque.*

A. R. 457.  
A. D. C. 295.

perse and fly on all sides, and occasioned the loss both of men and horses. The disorder reached also the infantry : many in the front were crushed to death by the horses and chariots. The main body of the Gauls seeing the enemy in disorder, did not give them time to breathe, but pushed them with great vigour.

Decius at this moment, not being able to stop the flight of his troops, addressed himself to his father, and invoking him by his name : *Wherefore, cried he, should I refuse myself any longer to my destiny ? It is the fate of our family to sacrifice themselves voluntarily to expiate the wrath of the Gods, and to avert the misfortunes of the public. I go this instant to devote myself and the legions of the enemy as victims to the goddesses of the earth and the Dii Manes.* After having spoke thus, he ordered the Pontiff M. Livius, whom he had caused to follow him in the battle, to repeat the words before him, by which he was to devote himself with the legions of the enemy in favour of the Roman People. Accordingly he devoted himself without losing a moment's time, in the same terms, and habit, as his father had used in the war against the Latines at the battle of Veferis. He added, after having repeated the form prescribed, “ That he caused terror, flight,  
“ murder, slaughter, and the wrath of the  
“ gods of heaven and hell to march before  
“ him : That he was going to ‘charge with fa-  
“ tal imprecations the ensigns, darts, and arms  
“ of the enemy ; and that the same place  
“ should be witness of his death, and of the  
“ destruction of the Gauls and Samnites.” Hav-  
ing uttered these execrations against himself and the enemy, he spurred his horse into the thickest of the Gauls, and in the midst of a shower of  
darts

darts was soon mortally wounded, and fell dead. A. R. 47.  
Ant. C. 79.

After this, says Livy, the battle was continued in a manner that had nothing human in it. The Romans, after having lost their general, an accident which generally puts an army into consternation, stopp'd short in their flight, and breathed nothing but battle. The Gauls on the contrary, who surrounded the Consul's body, seemed stupified and out of their senses, and discharged their darts ineffectually and without vigour. Some remained even without motion, and without thoughts either of fighting or flying. On the other side the Pontiff Livius, to whom Decius had given his Liçtors, and whom he had appointed Pro-prætor, cried out, " That the Romans had conquered : that  
" the death of the Consul had appeased the  
" wrath of heaven. That the Gauls and Sam-  
" nites appertained now to the goddesses of the  
" Earth and the Dii Manes. That Decius  
" drew after him, and summoned the army he  
" had devoted, in devoting himself : and that  
" the Furies and Terror drove before them, and  
" confounded, all their troops.

It is no wonder, that the imagination heated by the sight of a Consul who devotes himself to death, by the solemn and hideous ceremonies used on that occasion, by the terrible execrations that a priest dress'd in pontifical habits utters with a loud voice against the enemy in the presence of the army, and by the respect natural to all men for Religion and the Divinity, should make extraordinary impressions upon the minds of soldiers, and change them on a sudden into other men.

Whilst they were re-instating the battle with inconceivable ardor, they were joined by L.

A. R. 457.  
A. D. C. 195.

Cornelius Scipio and C. Marcius, whom the Consul Fabius had sent from the rear with the body of reserve to the aid of his colleague. On their arrival they were informed of the death of Decius : which was a potent incentive to them not to spare themselves. The Gauls keeping very close order, and continuing covered with their bucklers, it was not easy to combat man to man, nor to come to blows with them : The Romans therefore, by order of the lieutenants, gathered the javelins that lay upon the ground between the two armies, discharged them vigorously against the Gauls, penetrated through their shields to their bodies, broke that kind of tortoise, and threw down that breast-work with which the enemy opposed their attack, so that most of them in a kind of amazement, without so much as having received a wound, fell to the ground. Such was the fate of the left wing.

We have already said that Fabius, on the right wing, had at first spun out the battle, in order to exhaust the enemy's courage, and spend their fire in those first efforts. When he perceived that neither their cries, the darts they discharged, nor their general attack, had the same force as at first, he ordered the officers of the cavalry to make their squadrons file off along the two wings of the Samnites, and to hold themselves in readiness to attack them in the flanks with their utmost vigour the moment he gave the signal. He then made his troops insensibly advance against the main body of the enemy in order to put them into disorder. When he saw that they made but a faint resistance, and that they were exhausted with fatigue, drawing together all the reserved troops whom he had spared for this occasion, he  
made

made his legions move, and gave his cavalry the signal for attacking the enemy. The Samnites could not sustain so rude a charge, and leaving the Gauls in the midst of the danger, fled precipitately to their camp. A. R. 477.  
Ant. C. 95.

The Gauls however having made a tortoise by joining their bucklers, kept close to each other. Fabius, who at that time was informed of his colleague's death, detached a body of about five hundred Campanian horse, with orders to attack the Gauls in the rear. He made the *Principes* of the third legion follow them, and ordered them as soon as the horse had put the enemy into disorder, to charge them vigorously, and to give them no quarter. After having vowed a temple to Jupiter the Victor, and the spoils he should take, he advanced to the camp of the Samnites, the whole multitude of whom was retiring thither in disorder. There in the intrenchments themselves, those whom the too great croud prevented from entering the camp, of which the gates were too narrow to receive them all at a time, endeavoured to fight. Gellius Egnatius, the general of the Samnites, was killed there. The Samnites were afterwards driven into the works. The camp was taken without difficulty, and the Gauls surrounded on all sides. Twenty five thousand men were killed, and eight thousand taken that day. The victory also cost the Romans a great deal of blood: For of Decius's army seven thousand fell, and of Fabius's twelve hundred. Whilst search was making by the latter's order for his colleague's body, he burnt the spoils of the enemy, which he caused to be piled up in heaps, in honour of Jupiter the Victor. The Consul's body could not be found that day, because covered with those of the Gauls: but it was found the next,

A. R. 457.  
Ant. C. 295.

and brought with great mourning of the whole army to the camp. At length all other cares being at an end, Fabius celebrated his funeral with all possible magnificence, and rendered the just homage of praise to his extraordinary merit, and great qualities.

*The Hetrurians are defeated by Fabius.*

At the same time, the arms of Cn. Fulvius the Proprætor, were also successful in Hetruria. Besides the considerable ravages by which he had ruined the whole country of the enemy, he gained a victory, in which above three thousand inhabitants of Perugia and Clusium were killed, and twenty ensigns taken. The Samnites flying through the country of the Peligni, were surrounded by an army of those people, and of five thousand which they were in number, one thousand were killed.

*Triumph of Fabius.*

Fabius leaving Decius's army in Hetruria, returned to Rome with his Legions, and triumphed over the Gauls, Hetrurians, and Samnites. His soldiers who followed him in his triumph celebrated in their military, that is to say, simple and artless songs, not only Fabius's victory, but at least as much the glorious death of Decius; recalling that of his father which rendered both equally illustrious, and truly worthy of each other. Out of the spoils taken from the enemy fourscore and two *Asses* were distributed to each soldier (*Æris octogeni bini*. Add, *nummi librales, sive asses*, which are something more than the value of an ounce of silver.)

*Tenaciousness of the Samnites for continuing the war.*

Notwithstanding all the defeats I have related, and in which some authors make the loss of the enemies of the Romans amount still higher, no peace ensued either with the Samnites or the Hetrurians. Those two people were again defeated; the first especially, who lost above sixteen thousand men in one battle in the country

country of the Stellatini. It is not easy to conceive, how the Samnites could supply numbers for such great and frequent armies, and how their courage was capable of holding out. They sustained the war with the Romans forty seven years, almost without any respite. Not to mention so many other defeats, and only to reckon those of the present year, how many considerable losses did they sustain, in the country of the Sentini, Peligni, Tifernum, and in an action against Volumnius in the territory of the Stellatini. They have been defeated by four armies and as many Roman generals. They lost the greatest of their captains, who was killed in a battle. They saw the Hetrurians, Umbrians and Gauls, their allies undergo the same fate as themselves. They could support themselves no longer either by their own forces, or those of strangers. However they could not prevail upon themselves seriously and in earnest to renounce the war, though every thing seems to invite, and almost to reduce them to it. Such an obstinate perseverance shews, that people were sensible they were not made for slavery, and that the love of liberty was natural to them, as there (*a*) is nothing they are not ready to undertake to preserve or reinstate it, as the worst success is not capable of making them lay down their arms, and they choose rather to be conquered than not to attempt victory.

For the (*b*) rest, these almost anniversary wars, which did not tire the Samnites, extreme-

(*a*). Bello non abstinebant, adeo ne infeliciter quidem defensæ libertatis tædebat, & vinci quam non tentare victoriam, malebant.

(*b*) Quinam sit ille, quem non pigeat longinquitatis bellorum scribendo legendoque, quæ gerentes non fatigaverunt? *Liv. l. 10. c. 31.*

A. R. 177.  
Ann. C. 292.

ly disgust both the author who writes the history of them, and the reader, to whose eyes the same objects are continually presented, levying of troops, ravaging of countries, sieges, battles, defeats, and treaties of peace, followed with breach of engagements, and open ruptures. I have done all in my power to abridge the account of them, when the facts were neither necessary nor important.

In the year of which we are speaking, Q Fabius Gurgus, the Consul's son, cited some Roman ladies accused of adultery before the People. They were fined, and the money employed in erecting a temple to Venus.

A. R. 178.  
Ann. C. 293.

L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS.

M. ATILIUS REGULUS.

N. 21. 178.  
S. 178.  
and in Luceria.  
Liv. 3. 10.  
C. 22—23.

These two Consuls had orders to march into Samnium. Sickness kept Postumius some time at Rome: the other set out immediately, and soon arrived in view of the enemy. The latter taking the advantage of a thick fog, ventured to attack his camp, and took part of it, but were soon beat out again. They however kept it close shut up, and were only reduced to retire entirely by the arrival of the other Consul. Having joined their troops, the Roman generals took several towns, most of which had been before abandoned by the inhabitants.

Atilius marched to the aid of Luceria, attacked by the Samnites. The latter advanced to meet him, and a battle ensued. The event was doubtful, but most heavy upon the Romans, who retired entirely discouraged; so that if the enemy had pursued them to their camp, they had made themselves masters of it without difficulty. It was expected, that they would have

have attacked it the next morning, and the trembling soldiers passed the night in cruel anxiety. Happily the Samnites were in no greater certainty than themselves and set out the next day in order to retire. But their route lay near the camp of the Romans, who believed they were coming to attack them. The alarm was excessive. The Consul endeavoured to encourage his soldiers, employing the most affecting motives, honour, shame, fear, hope, and declaring that he had rather die in the midst of the enemy, than suffer himself to be besieged in his camp. He had abundance of difficulty to make them march out of it. The Samnites trembled on their side, when they saw them quit their camp, and believed they were coming to dispute the passage with them, which they had exceedingly apprehended. When the two armies faced each other, they continued some time gazing in suspense, without making any movement, because neither had courage to begin the battle; at length they engaged languidly enough at first on both sides. The Samnites however pushed the Romans with vigour soon after, and put them to flight. The Consul advanced full speed in despair to the gate of the camp, where he posted a small body of horse, with orders to treat all that approached the intrenchments, Romans or Samnites, as enemies; which they did. It was necessary in consequence to face about. At the same time the Consul, holding up his hands to Heaven, vowed a temple to Jupiter Stator, if he stopp'd the flight of his troops. Religion had great weight with the Romans. Their force revived with their courage. The fight was renewed, and continued very obstinate and bloody. The Samnites had four thousand

A. K. 48.  
Ant. C. 94.

A. R. 478. eight hundred men killed, and seven thousand  
 A. B. C. 294. three hundred taken, who were all made to pass under the yoke. The victory cost the Romans dear. They lost seven thousand three hundred men in both days.

Whilst this passed in Apulia, another body of Samnites had attacked Interamna, a Roman colony on the Latine Way. Not being able to take the place, they carried off a great booty. The Consul, on their return, met them, and took from them all their spoils, after having entirely defeated them. He was recalled to Rome, to preside at the election of magistrates for the year following.

The other Consul had entered Etruria with his army, and had very good success there. He ravaged the country of the Volturnians, and made himself master of Rusella, where he killed almost two thousand of the citizens round the walls, and made two thousand prisoners. But what was still more glorious for him, and more advantageous to the commonwealth, three of the most powerful cities of Etruria, Volturnii, Perugia, and Arretium, demanded to treat of peace. Having agreed with the Consul to furnish the army with habits and corn, they had permission to send deputies to Rome, and obtained a truce of forty years. Each of these cities were condemned for the present to pay the Roman people five hundred thousand *asses*, that is to say, about twelve hundred and fifty pounds sterling. The Senate refused the Consul a triumph, as they had his colleague before. By the favour of the People, he triumphed notwithstanding the Senate's opposition.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

A. R. 459.

SP. CARVILIUS.

Ant. C. 293.

This year presents us an illustrious Consul, Papirius Cursor, who by his own glory sustained that he had inherited from his father. We shall see a considerable war with the Samnites in it, and the greatest victory hitherto gained over them, except that of Papirius, the Consul's father. Every thing resembled each other in these two wars: the extraordinary efforts and preparations employed in them; the splendor of arms; the terrible ceremonies used for rendering the gods propitious, and initiating in some measure the soldiers by an oath of ancient form; and lastly, the levies made universally throughout the whole extent of Samnium under that form, which devoted to Jupiter, and loaded with curses, all such amongst the youth, as should not present themselves for the service on the general's order, or should retire from it without his permission.

*The Samnites make terrible preparations of war*  
Liv. x. 38.  
46.

The rendezvous of the army was fixed at Aquilonia. All the troops repaired thither at the time, and amounted to forty thousand men. They were the flower of the forces of Samnium. There in the midst of the camp an enclosure, two hundred feet square of hurdles and planks covered with linnen was made. Within this enclosure a sacrifice was offered according to ceremonies prescribed in an ancient linnen book. The person who offered it was a priest, named Ovius Paccius, of great age, who affirmed, that he had extracted the rites of this sacrifice from the most ancient monuments of the religion of the Samnites, of which their ancestors had made use, when they formed the secret resolution

A. P. 457. resolution of taking Capua from the Hetrurians.  
 ART. C. 2, 3. The sacrifice being over, the general sent an officer for the most considerable of the nation. They were introduced separately one by one. Besides the other circumstances that attended this ceremony, which was wonderfully proper to fill the mind with religious awe, there were in the midst of this inclosure covered on all sides, altars surrounded with victims, which had been killed there, and centurians with their drawn swords in their hands. The soldier was made to approach the altar more like a victim himself, than one who was to assist at the sacred fire, and to take an oath, that he would declare nothing of what he should see or hear in that place. He was afterwards made to repeat by way of oath a form of execration against his own head and person, his family and all his race, if he either fled from battle himself, or did not immediately kill whomsoever he should see fly. As some at first refused to take this oath, they were butchered that moment around the altar. They were afterwards laid in the midst of the bloody victims, and served as a terrible lesson to others not to make the same refusal. When the principal Samnites had passed through this ceremony, and pronounced these execrations, the general nominated ten, each of whom he ordered to choose out of the troops one of the bravest men they knew: those were ordered to do the same, and so on till the number of sixteen thousand were completed. This body of troops was called *The Linnen Legion*, from the linnen with which the place where they had sworn was covered. Shining armour and helmets adorned with plumes were given them, in order to distinguish them from all the others. The rest of the army consisted

sisted of somewhat more than twenty thousand men, who differed little from these either in largeness of stature, exterior equipage, or reputation for bravery. Such was the army encamped at Aquilonia.

The Consuls on their side had entered Samnium and had already taken some \* cities there, whilst the enemy were employed in these gloomy and horrid ceremonies. After having ravaged the country, they stopp'd, Carvilius at Cominium, and Papirius at Aquilonia, where lay the weight of the war. After having rested some days, and taken all his measures, Papirius sent a courier to his colleague, who was twenty miles from thence, to let him know, that he was resolved to give battle the next day, if the auspices were favourable; that it was therefore necessary for him to press the siege of Cominium more closely than ever, that the Samnites might have no room to send aid to Aquilonia. As soon as the courier set out, the Consul called the assembly, to prepare the soldiers in respect to the arms and ornaments of the Samnites. He told them, “ That is was not the plumage floating  
 “ on the helmet which made wounds: that the  
 “ Roman javelins could pierce through gilt and  
 “ painted bucklers: that the whiteness of the  
 “ tunic, when they came to blows, would  
 “ soon be sullied and spoil'd by the blood flowing from wounds. That formerly a like army of the Samnites, all glittering with gold and silver, had been cut in pieces by his father. That their gold and silver had done more honour to the victorious enemy, whose prey they became, than to the Samnites, in whose hands, they proved ineffectual arms.

A. R. 459.  
Ant. C. 293.

*U list  
Carvilius  
besieges Co-  
minium,  
Papirius  
fights a fa-  
mous Bat-  
tle near  
Aquilonia,  
in which  
the Sam-  
nites are  
cut to  
pieces.*

\* *Amiternum, Darnia.*

“ That

A. R. 455.  
Ant. C. 275.

“ That it seemed the privilege of his name and  
 “ family to furnish generals against the extraor-  
 “ dinary efforts of that people, and to take  
 “ from them spoils fit to adorn the publick  
 “ places of Rome: That the immortal gods  
 “ would not avenge the treaties so often de-  
 “ manded, and so often violated, by the Sam-  
 “ nites. (a) That if it were allowable to enter  
 “ into the secrets of the gods, he dared pre-  
 “ sume to say, that they never were more of-  
 “ fended at any army than now with that of  
 “ the Samnites, which, polluted with the blood  
 “ of men and beasts shed promiscuously in an  
 “ impious sacrifice, doubly, and in whatsoever  
 “ manner they should act, devoted to the  
 “ just anger of heaven, and having the gods,  
 “ who were witnesses of the treaties con-  
 “ cluded with the Romans, to fear on one side,  
 “ and on the other the imprecations, with  
 “ which the oath taken in prejudice of those  
 “ treaties had been attended, had sworn against  
 “ their will, detested the oath which had been  
 “ forced out of their mouths, and were at  
 “ once in dread of the gods, their citizens, and  
 “ their enemies.”

Papirius had been informed of all these cir-  
 cumstances by deserters. After having repeated  
 them to the soldiers, who were already of them-  
 selves full of anger against the Samnites, encou-  
 raged by all the motives divine and human to  
 hope, they raised an universal cry to demand a

(a) Si qua conjectura men-  
 tis divina sit, nulli unquam  
 exercitui, quam qui nefando  
 sacro mistâ hominum pecu-  
 demque carne respersus, an-  
 cipi deum iræ devotus,  
 hinc fœderum cura Romanis

istorum testes deos, hinc  
 jurisjurandi adversus fœdera  
 suscepti execrationis horrent,  
 invitatus juraverit, oderit sacra-  
 mentum, uno tempore deos,  
 cives, hostes metuat. Liv.

battle,

battle, and suffered it to be deferred till the next day with reluctance. The night seemed to them too long and the return of night too slow : in their impatience every moment's delay gave them pain.

A. R. 479.  
Ant. C. 293.

At the third watch of the night, that is to say, at midnight, the courier being returned with Carvilius's answer, the Consul Papirius rose without noise, and sent to the officers, called *Pullarii*, who kept the chickens, to take the auspices. No kind of persons in the camp were indifferent concerning the battle ; great, small, all desired it impatiently. This ardour had reached even these subaltern ministers of the auspices. As the chickens would not eat, the officer took upon him to assure the Consul that they had ate very greedily. Papirius, in the highest joy, declared publickly, that the auspices were happy, and that the gods would be propitious ; and at the same time gave the signal.

As he was quitting his camp in order to give battle, a deserter came and told him, that twenty cohorts of the Samnites, each consisting of four hundred men, were set out for Cominium. Papirius, immediately, sent that news to his colleague, to prevent his being surprized. At the same time he made his troops advance, and drew them up in battle. He had already disposed the reserved troops, and appointed the officers who were to command them. He gave the command of the right wing to Volumnius, and of the left to L. Scipio. Cædicius and Trebonius had the command of the cavalry. He ordered Sp. Nautius to take the mules, after having removed their pack saddles, with a certain number of cohorts of the allies, and to carry them immediately,  
by

A. R. 419.  
A. U. C. 495.

by taking a compass, to the top of a mountain much exposed to view; and afterwards in the heat of the battle, to make them appear, raising at the same time as much dust as possible.

Whilst the general was giving these orders, a dispute arose, in the hearing of some of the Roman horse, between the officers who kept the sacred chickens, concerning the auspices of that day. They did not think this a circumstance to be neglected, and acquainted Sp. Papirius, the Consul's nephew, with it. (a) The young Roman, born in an age when the dangerous philosophy which teaches to contemn the gods was unknown, informed himself exactly in the fact, and reported it to his uncle. The Consul, after having heard him, said: *I commend your scrupulous zeal. But if he who took the auspices, has given me any false account, it is himself alone who is to answer for it. As for me, I adhere to what he told me, which is the most favourable omen for the Roman people and army.* He afterwards ordered the Centurions to post those keepers of the chickens in the front of the army. The Samnites made their ensigns also advance, followed by their troops armed and adorned in a manner that made a magnificent shew, even to their enemies, to whom it must naturally have been terrible. Before the usual cries were raised, and the armies came to blows, the keeper of the chickens received a wound from a javelin, thrown by chance according to Livy, or more probably by the Consul's order, that laid him dead upon the earth. When that news was told the Consul: *It is well,* cried he; *the Gods manifest themselves; the criminal is punished.* Whilst he was speaking, a raven croaked over against

(a.) Juvénis ante doctrinam deos spernentem natus.

him. The Consul, transported with joy upon that omen, and affirming that the gods had never interfered more evidently in human affairs, caused the signal to be given, and the usual cries to be raised. Who does not perceive that part of this account is mere invention, and fitter for the stage than the gravity of history?

A. R. 419.  
Ant. C. 293.

The battle ensued and was extremely obstinate: but the disposition of the two armies was very different. Hope, courage, rage, and the desire of revenge, urged on the Romans to battle, thirsting for the blood of the enemy. The Samnites, most of them, were forced by necessity, and a mistaken motive of religion, rather to defend themselves against their will, than to attack. Accustomed as they had so long been to defeats, they probably would not have sustained the first cries and charge of the Romans, if a stronger fear with which they were possessed, had not prevented them from flying. They had before their eyes the dreadful solemnity of that secret sacrifice, priests armed with daggers, the dead bodies of men and beasts promiscuously mingled and confounded together, altars covered with impure blood, and those infernal forms, which they had been made to pronounce against themselves, their nearest kindred and whole families. These were the ties that kept them from flying. They were more afraid of their own citizens than the enemy. The Romans pressed them on all sides at once, the right, the left wing, and main body, and finding them in a kind of amazement and stupefaction, occasioned by a dread that did not leave them in their natural situation of mind, they made a great slaughter of them without finding much resistance.

The

A. R. 459.  
Ant. C. 293.

The first line was almost entirely defeated, when suddenly a great dust was perceived on one side of them, which seemed to be raised by the march of a numerous army. This was the execution of the orders Papirius had given Sp. Nautius. The servants of the army mounted upon the mules, dragged great branches of trees along the ground. As they were seen only at a great distance through a gloomy and confused light, many imagined that they saw arms and ensigns: and the dust continuing to rise, and increasing perpetually, they persuaded themselves that it was occasioned by cavalry drawing up in battle. Not only the Samnites believed that new troops were arrived against them, the Romans were also deceived in that respect; and the Consul confirmed them in their error, crying out at the head of their troops so as to be heard by the enemy: That Cominium was taken: that his colleague was coming to join him, and that they should use their utmost endeavours to defeat the enemy, before another army deprived them of the honour of the victory. He was on horseback when he spoke these words; and immediately after ordered the Centurions and Tribunes to open passages for the horse. He had before directed Trebonius and Cædicus to charge the enemy as vigorously as possible with the cavalry, as soon as they saw him lift up his spear, and move it to and fro with the point upwards. Every thing was executed at the moment, and in the manner prescribed. Passages were opened through the ranks of the infantry; the horse rode through them upon the spur, charged the main body with their lances, and broke them wherever they turned. Volumnius and Scipio seconded and sustained them with  
their

their infantry, and put them into disorder universally. The flight then became general. The engagements they had taken, sacrifices, oaths, and imprecations, were forgotten. The Gods were considered no longer ; and nothing feared but the enemy.

A. R. 459 .  
Ant. C. 293 .

What remained of their infantry after the battle, was driven to their camp near Aquilonia. The nobility and cavalry retired to Bovianum. The camp was presently taken by Volumnius. Scipio found more difficulty at the city Aquilonia : not that the enemy had more courage there, but because walls were a better defence than the intrenchments of a camp. He at last took it by scaling them : but as the night came on, he kept his troops quiet. The enemy abandoned the place in the night. In this battle more than thirty thousand men were killed, and near four thousand taken, with ninety-seven ensigns.

The siege of Cominium was no less successful. The Consul Carvilius was attacking the place with vigor, when he received the news from his colleague of the twenty cohorts marching to the relief of it. He immediately detached a considerable body of troops, with orders to march against those succours, and to prevent them, at any price whatsoever, from approaching Cominium. In the mean time he made extraordinary efforts in assaulting the place. The walls were scaled, the gates broke down. The besieged, in despair, retired in a body to the Forum, and after a short and weak defence laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion to the Consul to the number of fifteen thousand : above four thousand had been killed during the siege.

*The city of  
Cominium  
is taken.*

Thus ended on one side the battle of Aquilonia, and on the other the siege of Cominium.

A. R. 459.  
A. C. 295.

In the country between those two places, where it was expected there would have been an action between the Roman detachment and the succours, they did not meet each other. When the latter were within seven miles of Cominium, they were countermanded, and returned directly. It was almost dark night when they arrived near the camp and Aquilonia. The cries which they heard from both the one and the other, made them halt at first: and the flames which they saw soon after in the camp which the Romans had set on fire, assured them of its fate. They went no farther, and passed the rest of the night upon the ground in their arms in sad expectation of the day. As soon as it began to appear, as the Romans had got sight of them, they immediately fled, so that a detachment of infantry sent in pursuit of them could not come up with them. Only about three hundred in the rear were killed by the cavalry. The rest without any farther loss arrived at Bovianum. Besides abundance of arms thrown away in their terror, they lost eighteen of their ensigns.

The joy of each of the two armies for their own victory was much augmented by the equally good success of the other. The Consuls in concert abandoned the two cities they had taken to the soldiers, and after they had turned the people out of the houses, they caused them to be set on fire. Thus Aquilonia and Cominium were entirely destroyed in one and the same day. They afterwards united their camps, and in the sight of both armies praised and rewarded the officers, soldiers, and even whole bodies of troops, who had distinguished themselves in a particular manner. They afterwards held a council, to know whether they should march off both, or only one of the armies from Samnium.

nium. They made a third choice, which was to leave both there, in order to terminate the war absolutely on that side, and deliver Samnium to the Consuls their successors entirely conquered and subjected. As the enemy had now no army to keep the field and fight battles, they conceived, that the best method to carry on the war, was to attack towns; a certain means both to enrich the soldiers by the spoils they should find in them, and to compleat the destruction of the Samnites, who would be obliged to fight for their altars and household-gods. Accordingly the Consuls, after having given the Senate and People of Rome an account of all they had done hitherto, and of the choice they had made, divided and led their legions, Papirius to Sepinum, and Carvilius to Volana.

The Consuls letters, which were read in the Senate and the assembly of the people, occasioned universal joy, and public prayers and solemn thanksgivings were decreed for four days. This news was the more grateful, as advice came at the same time that the Hetrurians had revolted. The war with Samnium, in which they saw Rome entirely engrossed, and whither she had sent both the Consuls with all her forces, had given them opportunity to resume their arms. In consequence, people represented to themselves the danger, to which the war with Hetruria would have exposed Rome, if that of Samnium had been unsuccessful, and they had sustained any losses there. The deputies of the allies, sent by the Prætor M. Atilius, complained that their country was burnt and destroyed by the Hetrurians in their neighbourhood, because they would not quit the party of the Romans, and demanded in the strongest

A. R. 459.  
Ant. C. 293.

*Great joy at Rome for the victories gained over the Samnites. The Hetrurians revolt. Carvilius marches against them.*

A. R. 459.  
A. D. C. 295.

terms that they might be secured against the insults and enterprizes of those common enemies. The deputies were answered, “ That the Senate would make provision, that the allies should not suffer for their faithful attachment to the Roman people. That the Hetrurians as soon as possible should have the same fate as the Samnites.”

No haste however had been made to send them succours, if advice had not come, that the Falisci, ancient friends of the Roman people, had joined the Hetrurians. The proximity of that people gave the Senate some disquiet, and induced them to send heralds to the Falisci with their complaints. Upon their refusal to make satisfaction, war was declared against them in form, and the Consuls had orders to draw lots, which of them should march from Samnium into Hetruria with his army.

Carvilius had already taken in a very few days Volana, Palumbinum, and Herculaneum, from the Samnites, and about ten thousand men had been killed and made prisoners in attacking those three places. Chance gave him the commission to march into Hetruria. His troops were very glad of it, because they began already to suffer exceedingly from the cold in Samnium. Papirius found more resistance at Sepinum, but at length he carried the place. In this siege, and the actions with which it was attended, more than seven thousand men were killed, and almost three thousand taken prisoners. All the spoils were granted to the soldiers, which were very considerable ; because the Samnites had laid up their best effects in a small number of places, which they believed most capable of resisting the enemy’s attacks.

The

The whole country was already covered with snow, and the army could keep the field no longer: the Consul therefore withdrew his troops from Samnium. He entered Rome in triumph, followed by the soldiers with all the military gifts, crowns, and marks of honour, with which he had rewarded their bravery. Every body was particularly attentive to the spoils of the Samnites, and compared them for splendor and beauty with those the victor's father had formerly taken from the same people; which were very well known, because most of the public places of Rome were adorned with them. Some considerable prisoners were led in this triumph, well known for their own exploits, and those of their fathers. The copper money, which was exposed in the procession to the view of the public, according to Livy, amounted to such immense sums, as gives reason to believe that there is an error in the text. This money is said to have arose from the sale of prisoners. The silver, which had been taken in the cities, amounted to one thousand three hundred and thirty pounds weight. The whole was carried into the treasury; and no part of it given the soldiers: which highly offended the people, because the usual tax for the payment of the army was levied upon them: whereas, if the Consul had not had the vanity to display the sums intended for the treasury in his triumph, the soldiers might have been rewarded with part of them, and the rest been applied in discharging the arrears due to them. The Consul Papirius dedicated the temple of Quirinus, which his father, during his Dictatorship, had vowed to that God; and he adorned it with the spoils of the enemy, which were so abundant, that besides what were placed in that temple and

A. R. 459.  
Ant. C. 293.  
*Papirius*  
*returns to*  
*Rome, and*  
*is honoured*  
*with a tri-*  
*umph.*

A. R. 236  
A. M. C. 235.

the Forum, part of them were given to the neighbouring colonies and allies, to adorn their temples and public places. When the triumph was over, Papirius put his army into winter-quarters in the territory of Vescia, because that country was exposed to the incursions of the Samnites.

Carvilius

a. m. c. 235.  
a. m. c. 235.  
a. m. c. 235.  
a. m. c. 235.  
a. m. c. 235.

During the interval of which I am now speaking, Carvilius took Troilium, and some other strong places in Hetruria. The Falisci demanded peace; but had only a truce for a year granted them, for which they were made to give an hundred thousand *asses*, and the pay of the troops for that campaign. At his return to Rome, he received the honour of a triumph. The sum which he caused to be carried into the public treasury amounted to three hundred and ninety thousand *asses*. For the rest, he caused a temple to be built to Fortune; and distributed to each foldier out of the spoils an hundred and two *asses*, and twice as much to the Centurians and cavalry: a liberality which gave them the more pleasure, as his colleague had been very close in that respect to his foldiers.

Fortis Fort.  
line.

Liv. l. 10.  
c. 27.

This year the *Census* was compleated by the Censors P. Cornelius Arvina, and C. Marcius Rutilus. The number of the citizens amounted to two hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred and twenty-two. This was the nineteenth *agrum* from the institution of the Censorship.

The same year the custom was first introduced for the citizens to wear crowns on their heads at the Games and Shews, to express their joy and triumph for the victories gained over the enemy.

Papirius presided in the assemblies for the election of Consuls. Q. Fabius Gurges, the son

on of Fabius Maximus, was elected with D. Junius Brutus Scæva.

A. R. 459<sup>a</sup>  
Ant. C. 292<sup>b</sup>

The plague, which raged both in the city and country, soon made all the successes of this year be forgotten. The books of the Sibyls were consulted, to know what remedy there was for it; and in them it was found that it was necessary to bring the God Æsculapius from Epidaurus to Rome: which could not be executed this year, because the two Consuls were employed in the field. They contented themselves therefore with appointing a day for solemn prayers to implore the protection of that God.

The first decade of Livy ends here, that is to say, the tenth book of his history. The whole work consisted of an hundred and forty or an hundred and forty-two books. Only thirty of them are come down to us, and of them the last are not perfect. The loss of them cannot be sufficiently regretted, and in all appearance, will never be retrieved. Freinshemius, an illustrious German, has with infinite pains and wonderful discernment collected all that is dispersed in ancient authors, as well Greek as Latin, concerning the parts of the Roman history, which are no longer extant in Livy, and has filled up almost all the \* void places, and thereby, as far as was possible, restored what we have lost of him. The reader may consult the little I have said on this supplement and its author in the Ancient History, where I speak of Livy. He will spare me much trouble, in pointing out to me the places, from which I may extract what is wanting in this excellent historian, and often in supplying me with materials ready prepared.

\* *He has not filled up the void places in the five last books.*

A. R. 459.  
Aul. C. 293.

As the passages of the authors which he cites are sometimes very short, and for that reason in great number, to avoid the confusion which such frequent citations might occasion, I shall often quote only Freinshemius, where the reader may find them referred to. The second decade of Livy (so ten books together are called) is of the number of those which are lost. It included the space of seventy-three years, from the 460th to the 533d year of Rome.

S E C T.

## S E C T. II.

*The Samnites take arms again, and defeat the army of Fabius Gurges. He is accused. His father obtains his pardon, and goes to serve under him as his lieutenant. The Romans gained a famous victory. L. Postumius being Inter-rex, causes himself to be elected Consul. The plague continues to rage at Rome. A serpent is brought from Epidaurus, which is said to be Æsculapius under the form of that animal. The Distemper ceases. A temple is erected to him in the isle of the Tiber. Dispute between Postumius, and Fabius Consul the preceding year. Postumius takes several places. Colony of twenty thousand men settled at Venusia, and in its neighbourhood. Fabius triumphs over the Samnites. Postumius, on the expiration of his Consulship, is accused, and condemned. The Samnites and Sabines are reduced to ask peace. Three new colonies. Judges of criminal affairs instituted. Census. Fabius, Prince of the Senate. Domestic dissensions concerning debts. Laws passed in favour of the People. War with the Volsinians and Lucanians.*

Q. FABIVS GVRGES. .

A. R. 460.

D. JUNIVS BRVTVS SCÆVA.

Ant.C. 292.

**T**HE Samnites had been defeated and cut to pieces so many times, their losses had been so very great, especially the last campaign, and they were reduced to so weak a condition, that there was no appearance that they should have any thoughts of taking arms again, at least so soon, after such a series of bad success. But the repeated defeats they had sustained, far from

*The Samnites arm again, and obtain a great victory over Fabius.*

Freinsh.

l. II. c. I—

Zonaras,

abating Vol. II

A. R. 460.  
Ant. C. 232.

abating their courage through fear, served only to kindle in them, through a kind of despair, the desire of avenging themselves upon a people, who had made them suffer so many evils, and against whom they had conceived an hatred which rose to rage and fury. Papirius had scarce withdrawn his army from Samnium in order to its entering Rome in triumph with him, than they made new and more numerous levies than their past and still recent disaster seemed to admit. The news of the plague, which made great ravages in the city of Rome and all around it, and the little reputation and experience of the Consuls lately elected, filled the Samnites with a blind confidence and rash boldness, which suggested nothing to them but victories and triumphs. They began by ravaging the lands of the Campanians, whom they considered as the first authors of their misfortunes.

Rome did not leave its allies without aid and defence. The Consul Fabius was charged with this war. He set out with the legions, full of the ardor and courage with which his name and the glory of his father inspired him, and at the same time with no less contempt and indignation for an enemy so often defeated, and always ready to revolt. He assured himself, that with the least vigour against an enemy weakened to the degree the Samnites were, it was easy to reduce them for ever, and was in hopes of terminating a war for good and all, and that without difficulty, which had so long employed the Roman arms. He arrived in Campania with these thoughts, and advanced towards the camp of the Samnites with the utmost expedition. Their general had detached a party to take a view of the enemy. As soon as the Romans appeared, the

the detachment retired. Fabius believed it the whole army flying before him; and as if nothing was wanting to victory but dispatch, he advanced in disorder as he was, without giving his troops time to respire, taking a view of the country or any other precaution, and gave the signal of battle. The general of the Samnites had acted like a true Roman. He had posted himself very advantageously, had drawn up his troops in battle at his leisure, and had exhorted them to shew themselves men of courage by the most powerful arguments. The success of the battle was such as might be expected. The Samnites, who were quite fresh, and waited the coming up of the enemy, repulsed and broke the Romans with ease, who, already fatigued by a long march, had ran eagerly on, in expectation rather to plunder, than of a battle. Three thousand Romans were left upon the spot, and a much greater number wounded. Only the night, which came on very happily for them, saved the rest of the army, and prevented it from being entirely cut to pieces. They retired to a more favourable post, with intent to fortify themselves in it.

They found themselves in the most unhappy and deplorable situation imaginable, without provisions for the troops, remedies for the sick and wounded, or any means for reposing themselves, of which they were in so much want. The baggage had been left in the first camp which they had abandoned, the soldiers having brought away with them only their arms. They were in want of every thing, and of nothing so much as courage. The night passed amidst the groans of the dying, and the complaints of those who survived them, all expecting with terror and despair the return of day, which they believed

A. R. 460  
A. U. C. 292.

believed would be the last of their lives. And indeed, weakened as they were by a considerable loss, and overwhelmed besides with fatigues, wounds, grief, and despair, they could not expect to be able to resist enemies, whose force and courage victory had undoubtedly much augmented. In this condition, wherein every thing was desperate, they were indebted to the Samnites themselves for their safety, whose mistake extricated them out of the extremity to which they were reduced. They believed, with what foundation is not said, that the army of the other Consul was at hand; and through fear of being taken in the rear by troops newly arrived, if they staid to attack Fabius's camp, they retired contented with the good success they had already had.

These very successes and advantages gained from time to time by the Samnites, became the source of their misfortunes, and after the most bloody defeats, still put their arms into their hands, in hopes at length of prevailing over the Romans; in some sense, if I may be allowed to use the comparison, like men possessed with the love of Play, whom notwithstanding continual bad success, the smallest gain gives hopes of retrieving all their past losses by some happy run of the dice in their favour.

Whilst the Samnites gave themselves up entirely to the joy of so glorious a victory, Rome was in mourning and affliction. Less sensible to all other losses than to that of glory and renown, she saw with grief, that at the instant, when the longest and most obstinate war the Romans ever had, was upon the point of being terminated for ever, the rashness of the Consul had given it new birth, and rendered it more vigorous and terrible than it had ever been, by filling the Samnites with courage, confidence,  
and

and boldness. Not only the Tribunes, long accustomed to take advantages of such events for irritating the People against the Patricians, vented these complaints; the Senate itself expressed still far more violent discontent. After long and warm deliberations, it was decreed, that the Consul Fabius should return to Rome on a certain day to give an account of his conduct.

As soon as he arrived there, a croud of accusers declared against him, and cited him to take his trial before the People. It was not possible either to excuse or conceal his bad conduct in the battle. Consideration for his father Fabius, which seemed the only thing that could be of service to him, turned against him in the present conjuncture, and served only to aggravate his fault. And indeed, for the son of so great a man, nurtured and educated in the midst of his father's triumphs, not only to fully the glory of the Roman name, but the laurels of his ancestors, by a shameful defeat, that could be only ascribed to his imprudence, was considered as an unpardonable crime.

The People, generally prejudiced to excess against the Consuls, seemed determined not so much as to hear his defence. But when Fabius the father appeared as a suppliant, the sight of that venerable old man, round whom his victories and triumphs seemed to attend, soon changed their sentiments. He did not endeavour either to excuse his son's conduct, or to lessen his fault: but repeating with a modest air and tone the services of his ancestors and himself, he implored them to spare a father at his age so sensible an affront, and one so much to the disgrace of his whole house. He added, " That he  
 " however asked only, in favour of the Fabii,  
 " who almost from the origin of Rome had not  
 " a

A. R. 460.  
 Ant. C. 292.

*Fabius is  
 accused.  
 His father  
 obtains his  
 pardon,  
 and goes to  
 serve under  
 him as his  
 lieutenant.*

A. R. 410.  
A.U.C. 292

“ a little contributed by their valour and con-  
 “ duct to its greatness, and in gratitude to the  
 “ three hundred Fabii, who had defended the  
 “ commonwealth at the price of their blood  
 “ and the almost total extinction of their name,  
 “ that they would pardon his son, if his fault  
 “ were without remedy, and it was more ad-  
 “ vantageous to the State to punish than forgive  
 “ him.” For, said he, I have long learnt to  
*prefer the interests of the public to all other motives,*  
*and I believe I have given during my whole life*  
*sufficient proofs of my disposition in that respect.*  
*Now as to what concerns my son, his fault, I con-*  
*fess, is great: but it may prove infinitely useful to*  
*him, as well as to the commonwealth. Though it*  
*does not become a father to praise his son, I cannot*  
*refrain saying, that mine has good qualities. I*  
*have endeavoured to cultivate them by my cares,*  
*counsel, and an education worthy of the name he*  
*bears. The temerity natural to his years, and too*  
*much confidence in himself, has hurried him into*  
*the precipice. The shame to which he is now expo-*  
*sed will remedy them. In attaining the maturity*  
*of more advanced years, he will leave you nothing*  
*to apprehend from the levity of inconsiderate youth.*  
*Alas, I seem, Romans, to have foreseen this mis-*  
*fortune, when I took so much pains in your assem-*  
*ble, to prevent my son from being elected Consul.*  
*At this time I make you a quite different request,*  
*and demand the consulship for him. For it will*  
*be creating him Consul again, to pardon his fault,*  
*and put it into his power to retrieve it. And I*  
*will be security for him, that he shall retrieve it*  
*with advantage. To this end, I offer myself to*  
*serve under him as his lieutenant. I have still*  
*strength enough to support the fatigues of war, and*  
*do my duty in a battle. The remembrance of what*  
*the enemy have formerly seen me do in the field,*  
*may*

*may still intimidate them. But what is more important, I venture to promise you, that the martial ardor of the son, guided and moderated by the counsels of the father, shall soon wipe out by a glorious victory the shame which only his youth has drawn upon him.*

A. R. 460.  
Ant. C. 292.

Fabius's offer was received with universal applause, and he was immediately appointed his son's lieutenant. The Consul took the field soon after, as much respected, and attended with as passionate vows and as great hopes on the side of the People at his departure, as he had been ill received at his return. Upon the march, and afterwards upon his return, every thing passed according to the strictest rules of discipline. The allies, who were full of esteem for the valour and ability of Q. Fabius the father, of which they had often been witnesses, and of gratitude for the services they had received from him, executed all the orders he gave them with joy and dispatch. The army in general, impatient to blot out the ignominy of their defeat, and promising themselves every thing from a general under whom themselves and their fathers had so often defeated the Samnites, demanded eagerly to be led against the enemy. The Samnites on their side, flushed with the victory they had gained, desired a battle with no less ardor. In consequence, the one desiring to retain the glory they had acquired, and the other to retrieve their shame, both sides came to blows with equal ardor.

*The Romans obtain a famous victory.*

The Roman army began to give way, and Pontius Herennius, general of the Samnites, surrounded the Consul with a chosen body of troops, when Fabius, perceiving the danger of his son, spurred his horse into the thickest of the enemy. A body of cavalry followed him, representing

A. R. 452.  
Ant. C. 232.

presenting to themselves how shameful it would be for them, if such combatants as they were, in the flower of their youth, should suffer themselves to be excelled in vigour and courage by an old man. This charge decided the fate of the battle. The Roman legions, animated by the example of the horse, sustained the enemy first, and soon after broke them. Herennius, who discharged all the duties of an able general and a brave soldier in this action, used all possible endeavours to rally his troops, stop those who fled, and repulse the enemy; but could not prevent them from flying, and lost the occasion of escaping himself. Four thousand Samnites with that general were made prisoners, and twenty thousand killed in the battle and pursuit. The camp of the enemy was taken with considerable spoils, which were afterwards much augmented by the plunder of the country, and the voluntary surrender of several places.

A single man occasioned all this change; that an army a few days before victorious, was cut in pieces by the same troops they had so lately defeated; and that the Consul had made the general prisoner who had put him to flight, an agreeable spectacle to the People, and a magnificent ornament of the triumph decreed him the next year, when he returned to Rome.

Freinsh.  
liv. l. 10.  
— 12.  
Zonar.

Whilst things passed thus in Samnium, D. Brutus the other Consul was no less successful against the Hetrurians and Falisci.

Epist. 13.  
— 14.  
— 15.  
— 16.  
— 17.  
— 18.

liv. l. 27.  
c. 6.  
liv. l. 3.  
c. 35.

The *Inter-rex* L. Postumius Megellus, in the assembly wherein he presided, nominated himself Consul; which had no example, except Appius Claudius, whose conduct in that respect had been universally condemned.

L.

L. POSTUMIUS, III.

C. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

Postumius was a proud man, and if we may believe Livy, had already given proofs of his haughtiness, in decreeing himself a triumph against the will of the Senate, and without the consent of the people. He sustained his character in this his third Consulship, and began by expressing great contempt for his colleague. The latter, who was a Plebeian, and a man of a modest and mild disposition, resigned the province of Samnium to him, without insisting upon the constant custom, according to which the provinces ought to have been drawn for by lots.

All this while the plague continued to rage at Rome : this was the third year since it began, and no aid human or divine had abated its violence. We have already seen, that the Senate, after having consulted the books of the Sibyls, had resolved to bring the God *Æsculapius* to Rome, which could not be executed at that time on account of the wars, in which the commonwealth was engaged. Ten ambassadors were sent this year to fetch that God from Epidaurus to Rome : Epidaurus was a city of Peloponnesus, which passed for the place of his birth. Five miles from that city there was a temple of great fame, erected in honour of this God, and full of rich presents, sent thither by such as believed themselves indebted to *Æsculapius* for the recovery of their health. The ambassadors were conducted thither. Whilst they were admiring a marble statue of extraordinary magnitude, the work of *Thrasymedes* a famous statuary of Paros, a great serpent came suddenly from the inmost part of the temple, and struck all the spectators with astonishment and religious awe.

*The plague continues to rage at Rome. The God Æsculapius, under the form of a serpent, is brought thither from Epidaurus.*  
Liv. Epit. 11.  
Val. Max. 1. 8. 2.  
Ov. Met. l. 12.  
Auct. de viris illust. c. 22.

A. R. 461.  
A. U. C. 291.

The priests, with a respectful air and tone, cried out that the God resided in that serpent, and that he shewed himself from time to time under that form, but always for the good of mortals. He suffered himself to be seen during two days in the temple ; and then disappeared. The third, passing through a croud of spectators seized with admiration and respect, he went forwards directly to the port where the Roman galley lay, and having entered it, he placed himself in the cabin of Q. Ogulnius, the principal of the ambassadors, and continued there, after having folded himself in several circles from his tail to his head.

The Romans, highly pleased with the success of their voyage, and believing they had the God himself with them, set sail, and in a few days arrived happily at Antium. There, as the sea ran very high in effect of bad weather, which came on unexpectedly, and would not admit them to proceed on their voyage, the serpent, which during the whole passage had continued in the same place quiet and without any motion, glided to the porch of a very famous temple in that city. The place was planted with myrtles and palm-trees, round one of which he twined himself, and continued hanging there by the long folds of his tail during three days. The Romans were in great alarm, lest they should not be able to make him quit that place ; because during the whole time he refused to take his usual nourishment. But he soon put an end to their disquiet by returning to the galley, and at last arrived at Rome. The joy on that account was universal. People came from all quarters of the city in crouds to see a sight so new, and which they could scarce conceive. Altars were erected on the side of the Tiber  
where

where he passed, incense burnt, and victims sacrificed. When the ship arrived at the place where the Tiber divides itself into two branches, and forms an isle, the serpent quitted it, and swam into that isle, after which he was seen no more. The Senators, concluding that the God had chosen that place for his abode, ordered a temple to be built there to Æsculapius: and at the same instant the plague ceased. This temple afterwards became very famous, and the magnificent presents with which it was enriched, denoted, shall I say the gratitude, or stupid credulity, of those who pretended to have been cured by invoking this God of medicine. I leave the reader to conjecture how much fraud must have been employed in this voyage of a serpent attended with so many wonders. The Abbot Tillemont, in the life of Marcus Aurelius, mentions an impostor who tamed serpents. His life is related at large in Lucian.

A. R. 461.  
Ant. C. 291.

*The plague ceases. A temple is ordered to be erected to Æsculapius in the isle of the Tiber.*

In Philopsead.

The Consul Postumius carried the same pride with him into his province, as he had shewn in the city in respect to his colleague. Fabius Gurges, who had been Consul the year before, actually commanded in Samnium by order of the Senate in quality of Proconsul. Postumius wrote to him, “To quit his province as soon as possible: that himself was sufficient for the war there, and that he had no occasion for aid.” Fabius replied, “he desired him to reflect, that having received his powers from the Senate, he could not quit the province without their order.” This answer did not satisfy the Consul. When advice came to Rome of what had passed, it was apprehended that the misunderstanding of the generals might be pernicious to the public. Deputies were therefore sent to the Consul, to declare to him

*Dispute between Postumius and Fabius.*  
Freinsh.  
l. 11. c. 15.  
Dionys. &  
Diod. apud  
Valer.

A. R. 467.  
A. R. C. 291.

it was the intention of the Senate, that Fabius should remain in Samnium with his army. Far from complying with that order, Postumius is said to have explained himself in terms scarce credible. He was so bold as to say, *That as long as he should be Consul, it was not for him to obey the Senate, but for the Senate to submit to him.* And to make good what he said by his actions, having dismissed the deputies, he marched his army immediately to Cominium, which Fabius was actually besieging, with the resolution to employ force against him, if he could not oblige him to retire by other means.

Postumius  
takes several  
places.

few days after, Postumius took Cominium. From thence he led his army to Venusia, and took that also. He did as much by several other places, which were either carried by assault, or surrendered by capitulation. In this expedition the enemy had ten thousand men killed, and above six thousand surrendered themselves to the victor, after having laid down their arms.

The Consul's actions were certainly great and important, but he spoiled them by a pride and self-sufficiency, that were quite ridiculous. He wrote the Senate an account of all he had done in Samnium, and told them that Venusia and the adjacent country was a very proper place  
for

for a colony. His proposal was approved, but the execution of it confided to others, without any mention of the Consul. A colony of twenty thousand men was sent thither, a number which might appear improbable, if amongst a people not to be subjected, and always ready to revolt, the Senate had not judged it necessary to send a considerable number of citizens, in order to keep them in awe, and to prevent them from rebelling.

A. R. 461.  
Ant. C. 291.

*Colony of twenty thousand men sent to Pentri, and the country adjacent.*

For the rest, as the capricious and insolent disposition of Postumius had very much contributed to render him universally odious to all orders of the state; on the other hand, by way of contrast, it had not a little contributed to recommend Fabius to their favour. When he returned to Rome, and had given an account of the success of his campaigns, a triumph over the Samnites called *Pentri* was very willingly granted him. Its (a) finest ornament was Fabius the elder, who followed his son's chariot on horseback, with a more sensible joy to see him in that condition, in the midst of the applauses and acclamations of the people, than when entering Rome himself in triumph after his glorious victories, he carried the same Fabius, whilst an infant, by his side in his chariot, and seemed then forming him for his future greatness. The Consul distributed half the spoils to the troops, and caused the rest to be carried into the public treasury. Caius Pontius, general of the Samnites, who was led in this triumph with his hands tied behind him, was afterwards executed.

*Fabius triumphs over the Samnites.*

Freinsh. xi. 18.

(a) Idem triumphantis currum, equo insidens, sequi, quem ipse parvulum triumphis suis gestaverat, in maxi-

ma voluptate posuit: nec accessor gloriæ illius pompæ, sed auctor spectatus est. *Val. Max.* 5. 7.

A. R. 461. He was a great Captain, who had long made  
 Ann. C. 291. head against the Romans, and had occasioned  
 the excessive disgrace they had sustained at the  
 pass of Caudium. He gave an illustrious testi-  
 mony of the disinterestedness of the Romans of  
 his age, in saying (a), “ That if he had been  
 “ born in times, when the Romans had learnt  
 “ to take presents, he would have made the  
 “ term of their power of short duration.”

Postumius as much incensed at the honours  
 granted Fabius, as at the refusal of those he had  
 demanded in vain, seemed to make it his busi-  
 ness to offend the Senate more and more. He  
 vented his rage against his enemies with insult,  
 and indifferently attacking both orders of the  
 State, to mortify the Senate, he distributed all  
 the spoils he had taken amongst the foldiers,  
 and disbanded his army before it was possible  
 to send him a successor. It was believed by some,  
 and with sufficient probability, that what we have  
 related of Postumius's triumph against the will  
 of the Senate, in his second Consulship, should  
 be placed here. However that were, he had  
 no sooner quitted his offices, than two Tribunes  
 cited him to a trial before the People. Besides  
 the grievances of which we have spoke, he  
 was accused “ of having employed on his own  
 “ lands, before he took the field, two thou-  
 “ sand legionary foldiers, forgetting they were  
 “ foldiers, and not his slaves, and that they were  
 “ confided to his command, not to improve  
 “ his lands, but to acquire new ones for the  
 “ public.” The Tribunes in general declared  
 against him, and fined him 500,000 *Asses*,

(a) Si in ea tempora natus, hoc diutius imperare non fuisset, quibus munera accipe, se passuram. Cic. de Offic.  
 Si Romani didicissent, se il-

which

which may be reckoned about twelve hundred and fifty pounds sterling.

A. R. 461.  
A. C. 291.

P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.

A. R. 462.  
A. C. 292.

M'. CURIUS DENTATUS.

Under these Consuls, the Samnites, forced by the laying waste of their country, sent to ask peace of Curius, who permitted them to send deputies to Rome. He also obliged the Sabines, who had taken arms, to have recourse to the clemency of the Roman People. They not only renewed the ancient treaty with them, but conferred the freedom of the city also upon them, tho' not with the right of suffrage. Curius obtained a double triumph, after which he retired to his farm.

*The Samnites and Sabines are reduced to ask peace.*  
Liv. Ep. 11.  
Flor. 1. 15.  
Velleius 1. 14.

It was (a) at this time, that the Samnites, who had taken Curius for their patron and protector, deputed the principal persons of their nation to him, and offered him considerable presents, to induce him to assist them with his credit in the Senate, in order to their obtaining favourable conditions of peace. They found him by the fire in his little house in the country, sitting upon a stool, and eating his dinner out of a wooden dish. It is easy to conceive that the feast and equipage suited each other. There (b) was nothing admirable in this house, besides

(a) M' Curius, exactissima norma Romanæ frugalitatis, idemque fortitudinis perfectissimum specimen, Samnitium legatis agresti se in scamno assidentem foco, atque ligneo catillo cœnantem (quales epulas apparatus indicio est) spectandum præbuit, &c. *Val Max.* iv. 1.

magnum auri pondus Samnites cum attulissent, repudiati ab eo sunt. Non enim aurum habere præclarum sibi videri dixit, sed iis qui haberent aurum imperare. *Cic. de Senect.* 55.

(b) Qui domum intraverit, nos potius miretur, quam suppellectilem nostram. *Senec. Epist.* 5.

Curio ad focum sedenti

A. R. 462.  
A. C. 150.

the master. After having opened the purpose of their deputation to him, they offered him the gold and silver which their state had ordered them to deliver into his hands. They knew Curius very little. He answered them in obliging terms, but absolutely refused their presents ; and added with a greatness of soul truly worthy of a Roman, *That he thought it glorious, not to possess gold himself, but to command those that did.* Such (c) was at that time the character of the Romans. In private life, they carried their simplicity and modesty so far, as not to blush at, or more properly, to glory in poverty : in public they sustained the honour of their offices with a dignity, and even loftiness, that seemed to denounce them future Masters of the Universe. This great man, the terror of the enemies of his country, and the admiration of his age, had for his whole estate a little farm of seven acres of land, as appears (d) ; for he was not afraid to say in full assembly, that a man who was not contented with seven acres, was a pernicious citizen. Would one venture to compare the magnificent palaces of those great Lords, in which commonly nothing great is to be seen, but their pomp and vanity, with the cottage of Curius ? for so that poor little habitation may well be called in my opinion. Cato went expressly to visit that house,

(c) Hæc ratio ac magnitudo animorum in majoribus nostris fuit, ut cum in privatis rebus suisque sumptibus minimo contenti, tenuissimo cultu viverent ; in imperio atque in publica dignitate gratia ad gloriam splendoremque revocarent. Quæritur enim in re domestica con-

tinentiæ latus ; in publica dignitatis. Cic. *pro Flacco*, n. 28.

(d) Manii quidem Curii, post triumphos immensumque terrarum adjectum imperio, nota concio est. *Perniciosum intelligo civem, cui septem jugera non essent satis.* Plin. Nat. 18. 2.

which

which was in the country of the Sabines, near his own estate, and was never tired of contemplating it with an admiration mingled with respect, and a warm desire to imitate its master.

M. VALERIUS CORVINUS.

A. R. 462.

Q. CÆDICIVS NOCTUA.

Ant. C. 290.

Three cities received colonies; Castrum, *Three new colonies.* *Liv. Epit. 11.* *Vell. 1.14.* Adria\*, which has given its name to the Adriatic Sea, and Sena in the territory of the Gauls. Other writers date the settling of these colonies later.

Three officers were now instituted to try criminal affairs, and to preside at executions: *Judges of criminal affairs instituted.* They were called *Triumviri Capiales.*

In the *Census* made this year, the citizens amounted to two hundred and seventy three thousand men. *Census.*

Q. Fabius Maximus was chosen Prince of the Senate. His father Fabius Ambustus had the same honour before, as his son Fabius Gurges had after him: an extraordinary distinction, and observed by history of this illustrious house, to produce three Princes of the Senate successively from father to son in this manner. *Fabius Prince of the Senate.* *Plin. Hist. Nat. 7.41.*

Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS II.

A. R. 464.

P. CORNELIUS ARVINA II.

Ant. C. 288.

Every thing was quiet enough at this time abroad; but violent troubles began to break out at home in respect to the debts. (I shall treat that subject at the end of this section.) Appius Claudius, afterwards surnamed *Cæcus*, was

\* It is doubted whether it be this Adria situate in Picenum, or another in the country of the Veneti, which gave its name to the Adriatic Sea.

A. R. 464.  
Ant. C. 238. created Dictator, in order to find some remedy for this evil. These troubles ran highest the year following.

A. R. 465.  
Ant. C. 237.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

C. NAUTIUS.

Freinsh. xi. 24—30.  
Val. Max. 6. 1.  
Dionys. 2p. Vales  
Liv. Ep. 11.  
The cruelty, and horrible lust of a private person, occasioned the tumult that arose under these Consuls. Veturius, son of the Consul of the same name, who had been delivered up to the Samnites after the treaty of the *Furcæ Caudinæ*, had been reduced by poverty to borrow money at large interest, which he was not able to pay his creditor, C. Plotius. He was delivered up to him according to the barbarous custom of those times, which had often been condemned by the laws, but always ineffectually. That infamous usurer, not contented with exacting from the son of a Consul all the services of a slave, was for doing him bestial violence. The young Roman rejecting his shameful solicitations with horror, was cruelly scourged with rods: but having found means to escape out of prison, he went and presented himself before the Tribunal of the Consuls, attended with a croud of People, whom his sad condition had drawn together after him. The recent marks of the lashes he had received, were still visible upon his back. The Consuls, moved at so sad a spectacle, immediately made their report of it to the Senate, who committed Plotius to prison, and ordered all that were in custody for debt to be enlarged. Something of the like nature had already happened some years before.

Liv. l. 3  
28.

The people, seeing they confined themselves to such slight punishments for such enormous crimes,

crimes, were not satisfied, and murmured loudly against the Senate, for not going to the root of the evils ; for which purpose they were for having debts abolished in general. Animated by their Tribunes, they resolved to do themselves justice, quitted the city, and retired to mount Janiculum, determined not to re-enter Rome, till satisfaction was made them.

A. R. 465.  
Ant. C. 287.

M. VALERIUS POTITUS.

A. R. 466.  
Ant. C. 286.

C. ÆLIUS P.ÆTUS.

As the Senate relied little upon the new Consuls, recourse was had to the remedy usually employed in the last extremities, that is to say to a Dictator. Q. Hortensius was nominated. He was a man that knew how to soften the rigid authority of his office with all the lenitives of a wise condescension. He knew, that one of the principal subjects of the People's discontent was the violation of the law *Publilia*, passed the 416th year of Rome, and the open contempt of their ordinances (*Plebiscita*). Whatever resistance he found in the Senate, he passed a new law to confirm That of which we have just spoke, which was in substance, *That the whole commonwealth should be held to observe the ordinances passed in the assemblies of the People.* (A law to the same effect had been twice passed already, but always violated.) Though this was no great matter, the People were contented with it, and returned into the city, without having effected any thing for the present in respect to the debtors.

Laws favourable to the People.

A. R. 466.  
C. 51, &  
l. 8. c. 12.

Unity being thus restored, the Dictator was taken with a sudden and violent disorder, occasioned, in all appearance, by the excessive pains and trouble, which the reconciliation of the two orders of the state had cost him, and died in the exercise

A. R. 466. exercise of his office, a thing hitherto without  
Ant. C. 285. example.

It is believed, that about this time a law concerning the suffrages was also passed. Anciently, the ordinances of the People had not the force of laws, till they were approved and confirmed by the Senate. In the year of Rome 416, it was ordained by the law *Publilia*, that before the People proceeded to give their suffrages, the Senate should previously give their consent and ratification to whatever should be instituted. It was manifestly the non-observance of this law that obliged its being renewed at this time. The Tribune Mænius proposed and passed it. It very much augmented the power of the People, but gave a mortal wound to the authority of the Senate, and at the same time to the wisdom of the government, and the public good.

A war opportunely enough broke out at this time, first with the Volsinians a people of Hetruria, which served to stifle entirely the remains of the division that had disturbed the tranquillity of Rome: and next with the Lucanians. The latter was occasioned as follows. This people, whose neighbourhood their power and little respect for laws and justice rendered dangerous, obliged the inhabitants of Thurium, a city built out of the ruins of, and very near, the ancient Sybaris, by repeated injuries to have recourse to the protection of the Romans. War was declared against them. It is conjectured, that the success was in favour of the people of Thurium, because they erected a statue to the Tribune Ælius, who had induced the people to take their defence upon them.

S E C T.

## S E C T. III.

*Important war with the Gauls called Senones. Murder of the Roman ambassadors. Army of Cæcilius defeated by the Senones. Ruin of that people. Samnites conquered. War with the Tarentines: occasion of it. Their insults of the Romans. Romans again insulted by the Tarentines. War declared against them. They call in Pyrrhus King of Epirus to their aid, who sends them some troops. He soon after lands at Tarentum, having first suffered a rude storm. He puts an end to the idle and voluptuous life of the inhabitants. Horrid murder of all the citizens of Rhegium. Battle between the Consul Levinus and Pyrrhus. The latter is victorious by the means of his elephants. New troops are sent to Levinus. Pyrrhus approaches Rome: he is obliged to return directly. Character of that prince. Rome sends ambassadors to Pyrrhus concerning the prisoners. Instead of a mere exchange, the King proposes a peace. His private conversation with Fabricius. Feast given the ambassadors. They return to Rome. Pyrrhus sends Cineas thither, to treat of peace. The Senate deliberates upon the offers of Pyrrhus. Appius Claudius prevents a peace from being concluded. The Senate's lofty and noble answer. Return of Cineas to Tarentum.*

C. CLAUDIUS CANINA.  
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

A. R. 467.  
Ant. C. 285.

C. SERVILIUS TUCCA.  
L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

A. R. 468.  
Ant. C. 284.

**P** Reparations were making for an important war with the Senones, a people of Gaul settled on the coast of the Adriatic sea. They had

*Important war with the Senones.*

A. R. 468.  
A. C. 234.

had been ten years at peace with the Romans, from the battle wherein Decius had devoted himself, and they had been defeated, except in having suffered the Hettrurians underhand to raise troops amongst them.

A. R. 469.  
A. C. 233.

P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.  
C. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.

In the  
11th C.

These two Consuls marched, the first against the Volsinians, and the other into Lucania. The Gauls declared themselves openly this year. They entered Hettruria with a more numerous army than ever, and formed the siege of Arretium. The inhabitants of that city were in alliance with the Romans. They applied to them as against a common enemy. The name of the Gauls had left a strong impression of terror in Rome, and no war with them was neglected. The deputies in consequence carried back a favourable answer, and the assurance of speedy aid.

Murder of  
the Roman  
ambassadors  
engaged in  
the war.  
of the na-  
tion.

But the Romans, that they might have nothing to reproach themselves with, began by sending ambassadors to the Gauls, to represent, “ That the Arretini were under the protection of Rome ; and that the Gauls being engaged in a treaty with the Roman people, justice required, that they should not employ their troops against the friends and allies of Rome.” Whilst the ambassadors were going about to the towns of the Senones, one Britomaris of the royal family, an hot and violent young prince, whose father aiding the Hettrurians had been killed in a battle by the Romans, prompted by an inordinate desire of revenge, stopped the ambassadors, killed them, and cut their bodies in pieces, and having even torn their ornaments and the marks of their dignity to rags, he scattered

tered both about the country. This was a terrible declaration of war.

A. R. 469.  
Ant. C. 483.

It had not been thought proper at first to recall the Consuls from their provinces, and Metellus, Consul the year before, and now Prætor, had been charged with the command of the aid sent the Arretini. But when the news of the barbarous treatment of the ambassadors by the Gauls, arrived in the city on one side, and in the Consul Dolabella's camp on the other, every body was seized with a kind of fury. Dolabella, leaving the Hetrurians, advanced by long marches with his army, cross the countries of the Sabines and Picenum, towards the frontiers of the Senones. The latter, who did not expect that irruption, and had not assembled all their troops, making head against Dolabella with a small number, and in disorder, were soon defeated and cut to pieces. The Consul did not give them time to look about them. He burnt the towns, destroyed the houses, ravaged the lands, put all to the sword who were of age to bear arms, carried off the women, children, and old men, and reduced almost the whole country to a frightful solitude. Britomaris did not escape the just vengeance due to his barbarous cruelty. He was made to suffer a thousand tortures, previously to his being led in triumph, after which he was put to death.

The fortune of arms was very different before Arretium. The Prætor Cæcilius having given the Senones and Hetrurians battle, his army was cut in pieces, himself left upon the spot with seven legionary Tribunes, and abundance of other brave officers: above thirteen thousand men were lost in this action.

*Army of  
Cæcilius  
defeated by  
the Seno-  
nes.*

This victory, as considerable as it was, did not console the Gauls for the ruin and desolation of

*Senones de-  
feated  
again.*

of

A. R. 469.  
 Ann. C. 283.

of their country, which was almost reduced into a desert by the irruption of the Romans. Transported with rage and fury, after having drawn together all their troops dispersed in Hetruria, they set out furiously to besiege Rome, in hopes of surprizing, and treating it as their ancestors had formerly done, when they marched against it from Clusium, a city of Hetruria as well as Arretium. Happily for Rome, as they were to pass through none but countries of the enemy, the obstacles they met with stopped the rapidity of their progress considerably, and gave the Romans time to take the necessary measures for giving them a good reception.

But they did not go so far as Rome. They met the Consul Domitius on their route, gave him battle, and were entirely defeated. Those who escaped the slaughter, in their fury and grief turned their arms against each other, and fell by their own hands. Thus was the impious and barbarous murder of the Roman ambassadors avenged by the total ruin and extirpation of a people not long before so numerous and powerful. As to the sad remains of the Senones, who had retired in no great number into the country of the Boii their neighbours, and Gauls also, this same year they were cut to pieces by the Consul Dolabella in a battle fought near the lake of Vadimon against the Boii and Hetrurians, whom the Senones had engaged to take arms in their quarrel. Those people, that is to say the Boii and Hetrurians, were again defeated the year following.

It seems probable enough, that about this time the Romans became masters of the whole country formerly possessed by the Senones, and that nation being almost entirely extirpated in  
 that

that part of Italy, that a colony was settled at Sena, a city of the Gauls, otherwise called *Senogallia*. A. R. 469.  
Ant. C. 283.

Q. ÆMILIUS.

A. R. 470.

C. FABRICIUS.

Ant. C. 282.

The Samnites, supported by the Lucanians and Bruttians, began the war again. They were entirely defeated in a battle, wherein the Romans believed that the God Mars assisted them in person. Twenty thousand of the enemy were killed in it, and five thousand taken, with the general, and twenty ensigns. *The Samnites entirely defeated.*  
Val. Max. l. 1. c. 8.

The inhabitants of Tarentum had not declared themselves openly hitherto against the Romans, though they saw their power perpetually augmenting, and extending itself as far as them, with abundance of fear and anxiety. They contented themselves with aiding their enemies underhand, by permitting them to raise troops in their territory, which they would not see. *War with the Tarentines: what occasions it.*  
Liv. Epit. 12.  
Flor. l. 1. c. 18.  
Zonar.

Tarentum was a Greek colony, founded anciently by the Lacedæmonians, and was considered as the principal city of Calabria, Apulia, and Lucania. It was situated at the bottom of the gulph which bears its name, excercised commerce in all the neighbouring seas, and had a free trade with Istria, Illyria, Epirus, Achaia, Africa, and Sicily. It had amassed infinite riches, which were the source, as is usual, of incredible luxury, voluptuousness, and depravity of manners. A very judicious writer, of great authority, says that there were more festivals, solemn games, and public feasts, in this city than days in the year. Its buildings were of extraordinary magnificence, especially a vast theatre, situated near the port, and facing the sea. This theatre occasioned in some measure the ruin of

A. R. 470.  
Ant. C. 232.

Their in-  
sults of the  
Romans.  
Appian.  
apud Fulv.  
Ursin.

the power of Tarentum, by an accident which gave birth to the war with the Romans.

The Tarentines were celebrating games in this great theatre, when L. Valerius, who commanded the Roman fleet (*Duumvir navalis*) appeared with ten vessels, and was preparing to enter the port. Philocharis, a man of great power in the city, but so depraved in his manners, that the surname of *Thais* the famous courtesan had been given him, distinguished himself on this occasion. Pretending I know not what treaty, by which the Romans were prohibited sailing beyond the *Lacinian* promontory, he cried out, “It is necessary to oppose with  
“vigor, and to humble the insolent pride of  
“these Barbarians.” The multitude, always feasting, always drunk, and incapable of any cool deliberation, applauded this discourse, and acted in conformity to it. Vessels were immediately put to sea. The Romans, who expected nothing less than a battle, fled. Five of their galleys escaped the pursuit of the Tarentines; the other five, surrounded on all sides, were driven into the port. Four of those galleys with Valerius the commander of the fleet were sunk, and the fifth taken. All who were capable of bearing arms were put to the sword, and the rest sold for slaves.

In the same furious disposition, they advanced against the inhabitants of Thurii, accusing them of having called in the Romans, and imputing to them as a treason to the state, “That  
“being Greeks by origin, they had chose ra-  
“ther to call in a barbarous nation to their  
“aid, than the Tarentines, to whom they  
“were attached by the proximity of country  
“as well as blood.” The city was taken and plundered; the principal inhabitants were banished;

nished; and the Roman garrison had their lives saved, and were dismissed according to the terms of the capitulation. A. R. 470.  
Ant.C. 282.

When this news was brought to Rome, though the indignation of the People was proportioned to the insult they had received, however, to do nothing precipitately, and not to engage imprudently in a new war, it was thought proper to send ambassadors to carry the complaints of the commonwealth to the Tarentines, and to demand “ That the prisoners should be restored; that what had been taken from the inhabitants of Thurii, or at least an equivalent according to a just estimate, should be restored to them; that the exiles should be recalled; and that the authors of all these troubles should be delivered up to the Romans.” The Tarentines, according to the custom of the Greeks, used to hold their assembly in the theatre. The ambassadors found it very difficult to gain admittance into it. When they entered, they found almost the whole multitude in a foolish kind of merriment, the effect of wine and debauch: for it was an holiday and a day of feasting. As soon as Postumius, the principal ambassador, began to speak, the whole assembly fell into an indecent laughter, and would scarce vouchsafe him the hearing. If any expression, that was not pure Greek, happened to escape him, which ought to have been no wonder from a stranger, new horse-laughs were heard on all sides: he was treated as an ignorant Barbarian: in short, they carried their insolence to such an excess, that without any regard to the law of nations, they drove the ambassadors out of the theatre with ignominy. Their phrenzy did not stop here. As the Romans were retiring through a great croud of the populace,

*The Romans again insulted by the Tarentines.*

A. R. 470.  
Ant. C. 232.

who had assembled at the gates of the Theatre, a comedian or buffoon, called Philonides (for his name is preserved as a man of importance, whilst those of the principal persons of Tarentum are not known) coming up to them, had the insolence to urine upon their robes, which the whole theatre applauded. *You may laugh now,* cried Postumius; *but your mirth shall soon be changed into sorrow, and the spots in our garments washed out in your blood.* Without any other answer they returned to Rome, where they found the new Consuls already entered upon office.

A. R. 471.  
Ant. C. 231.

L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.

Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

War de-  
clared a-  
gainst the  
Tarentines.  
1. 55.  
French.  
12 10-26.

The Tarentines call  
in the aid  
of Perseus  
King of  
Epirus.

Upon the report made first in the Senate, and afterwards before the People, of the injurious treatment of the Roman ambassadors by the Tarentines, war was declared against them, and orders were given the Consul Æmilius, who had already set out for Samnium, to postpone all other affairs, and march against the Tarentines, and, if they did not make immediate and entire satisfaction, to attack them with the utmost vigour. Tarentum then began to open its eyes, like one after long drunkenness, and deep sleep. The enemy was advancing with a numerous army of good troops. It was therefore necessary to declare themselves and come to an immediate resolution: that is to say, either to determine upon a war with a powerful and exasperated enemy, in which they saw great inconveniencies, and the more because they had made no manner of preparations for it; or come into any satisfaction required, which would be extremely shameful and mortifying. They delibe-

A. R. 471.  
Ant. C. 281.

deliberated and wavered a great while between these two points, for there was no medium to choose, without being able to resolve on either, because they found unsurmountable difficulties in both. At last, one of the assembly rising up, represented, “ That they were much in “ the wrong to lose time in vain deliberations “ without concluding any thing. That it was “ clear, unless people were wilfully blind, and “ had renounced all sense of honour, that the “ peace, as proposed by the Romans, ought to “ be considered as a shameful slavery, to which “ death itself was preferable. That conse- “ quently there was but one choice to make, “ which was war. That it must indeed be “ confessed, that they wanted a general to op- “ pose against such enemies as the Romans, “ and to conduct an enterprize of such im- “ portance, without which they could not pro- “ mise themselves good success: but that the “ thing was not without a remedy. That it “ was necessary to seek that abroad, which they “ had not at home. That their ancestors on “ like occasions had called in at different times “ from Peloponnesus and Sicily the aid of Ar- “ chidamus the son of Agesilaus, Cleonymus, “ Agathocles, and last of all of Alexander of “ Epirus. That this latter country seemed to “ offer them such a general as they might de- “ sire in the person of Pyrrhus, a very power- “ ful, valiant and warlike prince, and one who “ was always ready to assist such as had re- “ course to him. That he would be the “ more inclined to comply, as it was not “ long since themselves had aided him with a “ considerable fleet against the Corcyreans.”

Plut. in  
Pyrrho, p.  
390, 391.

This advice pleased the assembly extremely. There was in the city a man of fine wit and

A. R. 471  
A. U. C. 281.

great sense, called Meton. Upon the rumour of what passed in the Theatre, he came thither with a crown of flowers carelessly put together on his head, and a torch in his hand, attended by a female minstrel. The Tarentines immediately began some to clap their hands, and others to laugh heartily. They ordered the She-musician to play, and bade Meton come into the midst of the assembly, and give them a song. The genius of a nation may be seen in a single circumstance of this kind. As soon as silence was made, Meton, instead of singing, spoke thus with a loud voice: *Men of Tarentum, you are much in the right not to hinder such as are willing to be merry, and go about in masquerade, whilst it is in their power. And you yourselves, if you are wise, will make merry also; and enjoy a liberty whilst you may, which will be of short duration. For I give you notice, that as soon as Pyrrhus arrives here, you will have quite different affairs upon your hands. You must alter your manners, mend your conduct, and resolve to lead a new kind of life.* Those who were afraid of being delivered up to the Romans, if a peace were concluded, observing that this discourse made impression upon the people, fell in a body upon Meton, and drove him out of the assembly. The Decree passed. It was unanimously resolved to call in Pyrrhus, and immediately ambassadors were appointed to propose the affair to him in the name of the Tarentines, and several other states in the neighbourhood.

Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, was of all the princes of his time the greatest Captain, and the boldest in forming enterprizes. He might have lived happy and quiet in his own dominions: but the warmth and impetuosity of his genius,  
and

and an ambition always restless and craving, could not bear inaction and repose, and required to be always in motion themselves, and in consequence to keep others so. The ambassadors sent not only from the Tarentines, but from all the Greeks of Italy, arrived in Epirus with magnificent presents for Pyrrhus. They had orders to tell him, that they wanted only a Leader of wisdom, experience, and reputation: that they had sufficient numbers of good troops, and that the forces alone of the Lucanians, Messapians, Samnites and Tarentines, when drawn together, composed an army of three hundred and fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. It is easy to conceive how much such a proposal pleased Pyrrhus; who already promised himself the conquest of the whole country he was called in to aid. But the better to conceal his ambitious designs, he made use of artifice and dissimulation. Having received the ambassadors with great honour, he heard their proposal with coldness; he insisted strongly upon the inconveniencies he should be exposed to in quitting his dominions, and expressed his grief that it was not in his power to repay his friends and allies the Tarentines a service he had not long before received from them. This answer put the ambassadors into a consternation. They redoubled their instances, and pressed him still more warmly than they had done before. He suffered himself to be prevailed upon, and concluded the Treaty, but insisted upon a condition to be inserted amongst the rest, that he should be detained in Italy for as short a time as possible. The Epirots readily came into this new project of their prince, and conceived a warm desire, and violent passion for this war.

A. R. 471.  
 Ant. C. 281.  
 Cic. de  
 div. 1. 1.  
 116

If the poet Ennius may be believed, Pyrrhus, before he engaged in the war with the Romans, consulted the oracle of Delphi, to know the success of it. He was deceived by the ambiguity of the answer, which equally signified that Pyrrhus could conquer the Romans, and the Romans Pyrrhus.

*Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse.*

Cicero proves clearly enough that this answer is an invention; and adds, that in his time the oracle of Delphi was fallen into supreme contempt.

During this interval the Roman Consul arrived. As the Tarentines made no overtures of peace to him, and he knew on the contrary, that they had sent an embassy to Pyrrhus, he began by ravaging their country, took several places from them, and spread terror on all sides. Troops were sent from Tarentum to oppose the enterprizes of the Romans. They were several times beaten, and repulsed with loss into the city. The ravaging of the lands was begun again. Every thing was put to fire and sword, and the houses consumed by the flames were seen smoaking on all sides in the country. The desolation of Tarentum was excessive, and as the multitude are no less abject and timorous in adversity, than domineering and insolent in prosperity, they gave the command to Agis, who had always been for accommodating with the Romans. Some of the principal persons of Tarentum, who had been taken prisoners, and set at liberty by the Consul, related the great goodness with which the Romans had treated themselves and the rest of the prisoners, which augmented the desire  
 and

and hope the people had of obtaining a favourable peace from them ; and the whole city inclined to that way of thinking.

The arrival of Cineas made all these thoughts of peace and accommodation vanish. He was the confident, counsellor, and prime minister of Pyrrhus, and who before this expedition had the famous conversation with him known to every body, upon the happiness and tranquillity he might enjoy in his own dominions. I have repeated it elsewhere. Pyrrhus, in consequence of the treaty which he had lately concluded, sent him to the Tarentines with three thousand foot. As soon as he arrived, the command was taken from Agis, and given to one of those who had been sent ambassadors to Pyrrhus.

A. R. 471.  
Ant. C. 281.

*Pyrrhus  
sends the  
Tarentines  
some troops.  
Plut. p.  
391.*

*Ancient  
Hist. Vol.  
7.*

Some small time after, the King sent Milo to Tarentum, who put a good garrison into the citadel, and offered to take upon him the guarding of the walls, which the multitude accepted with great joy, charmed to be eased of all care and trouble by strangers. It was decreed, that the soldiers should have great pay, and that the King should be supplied with all the money he should have occasion for.

The Consul having received advice of the arrival of the troops from beyond sea, conceived thoughts of marching his army into Lucania, in order to settle them in winter-quarters there. There was but one way thither, and that very narrow, with the sea on one side, and steep impassable rocks on the other. The Tarentines informed of his design, had sent ships to the coast of the sea, full of balistas, scorpions, and other machines of war, by the means of which they poured a shower of stones and darts upon the soldiers as they passed, without its being possible for them to avoid them. The Consul had

A. R. 471.  
Ant. C. 281.  
*The Ionian  
Sea.*

had but one remedy for this unhappy inconvenience : this was to place the prisoners he had with him, who were before in the rear, upon the flank of his army towards the sea. The Tarentines not to destroy their countrymen with the enemy, ceased discharging their machines, and retired. This is almost every thing that passed in the territory of Tarentum.

At Rome great care was taken in levying the troops for the following year, when the Commonwealth was to have several armies on foot ; and in order to that, they began now for the first time, to list such of the citizens, as composing the last century, and having no income, were exempt from bearing arms : these were called *Proletarii*. But all these precautions would not have preserved Rome from the misfortunes with which it was threatened, if Providence had not reserved great men for these times, and it may perhaps be said, the greatest that Rome ever produced, Curius, Fabricius, Coruncanius : great, not by the splendor of birth, riches or pomp, but their abilities in military affairs, and still more by their probity, of proof against all things. And indeed, against a prince, who equally knew how to employ steel for conquering, and gold for corrupting, his enemies, men of invincible valour were necessary, and such as carried their disinterestedness as high as the contempt of riches, and even the love of poverty.

*Pyrrhus  
goes to Ta-  
rentum,  
after hav-  
ing suffered  
a cruel  
storm.*

Tarentum was not idle on its side. It sent a great number of flat-bottom'd vessels, galleys, and all sorts of transports to Epirus. Pyrrhus embarked twenty elephants, three thousand horse, twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, two thousand archers, and five hundred slingers, on board of them. He did not stay for

for the spring to set out. When all was ready, he sailed. He was scarce out at sea, when a dreadful storm arose, which dispersed his fleet, and cruelly tossed the ship he was on board of. At length, after having been violently driven by the tempest during almost the whole night, the wind being much abated, he arrived the next morning on the coast of the Messapians; who flew to give him all the aid in their power. They went also in quest of some of his ships, that had weathered the storm, and in which there were only a small number of horse, and two thousand foot, with two elephants. Pyrrhus having drawn them up in one body, marched with them towards Tarentum.

As soon as Cineas was apprized of his arrival, he set out with his troops to meet him. Pyrrhus, on arriving in Tarentum, was strangely surprized to find the inhabitants solely intent upon their pleasures, to which it was their custom to abandon themselves without reserve or interruption. They expected, that whilst he was fighting for them, they should continue quiet in their houses, employing themselves only in their baths, using the most exquisite perfumes, feasting, and diverting themselves. Pyrrhus concealed his thoughts for some time, and tho' the people had decreed him the supreme authority, he would not do any thing at first by force, and contrary to the will of the Tarentines, till he had news that his ships were safe, and the greatest part of his army had joined him. Finding himself then in a condition to make himself be obeyed, he spoke and acted like master. He deprived them of their feasts, their shews, and their assemblies of news-mongers. He made them take arms, and directed

A. R. 471.  
Ant. C. 281.

*Pyrrhus  
puts an  
end to the  
idle and  
voluptuous  
life of the  
Tarentines.*

A. R. 471.  
A. M. C. 281.

rected those, who were appointed to make the levies (*a*), to chuse tall well-proportioned men; that as for him, he would take it upon himself to make them soldiers. He incorporated them into his own troops, to deprive them of the opportunities of caballing with each other, as they would have done if united together, and to form them in the same excercises. At musters and reviews he was severe and inexorable to all such as were defective in the least: so that there were many, who not being accustomed to so exact a discipline, quitted the city, believing it a condition of insupportable slavery, not to be permitted to live in voluptuousness.

Quint. 1. 5  
c. 3

The whole city resounded with bitter complaints against Pyrrhus. In company and at meals nothing was talked of but the tyrannical rigor of that prince. (*b*) Some young Tarentines, in the heat and liberty of wine, having spoke freely all that they thought of Pyrrhus, and the next day being informed against, and obliged to give an account to Pyrrhus himself of their conversation, which they could neither deny nor excuse, escaped by a pleantry, which came very opportunely into their heads. One of them taking upon himself to speak: *Really, my Lord, said he, if our bottle had not failed us, we should have done much worse; we should certainly have killed you.*

(*a*) Grandes eligerent, se eos fortes redditurum. *Front. Stratag.* 6. 1.

(*b*) Exemplo sunt juvenes Tarentini qui multa de Pyrrho rege secariis inter cœnam locuti, cum rationem facti repoſcerentur, & neque negari res neque defendi posset, risu sunt & opportuno joco

elapsi. Namque unus ex iis: *Imo, inquit, nisi lagena defecisset occidissimus te.* Eaque urbanitate tota est invidia criminis dissoluta. *Quint.*

Tam urbana excusatio, tamque simplex veritatis confessio iram regis convertit in risum. *Val. Max.* 5. 1.

An event happened at the time of which we are speaking, that might have rendered the Romans extremely odious, though they had no share in it. The inhabitants of Rhegium, a Greek city situated at the extremity of Italy facing Sicilly, from which it is separated only by the strait, terrified by the neighbourhood of so powerful a Prince as Pyrrhus, and by the Carthaginian fleets, which cruized in those seas, had applied to the Romans. The latter had sent them four thousand men, drawn out of the colonies which the Romans had settled in Campania, under the command of Decius Jubellius, a legionary Tribune. This garrison soon assumed the manners of the inhabitants, who, like all the rest of the cities of that country, were abandoned to pleasures and luxury. They also conceived the design of taking their place, and of seizing their city with all they possessed: a cruel scheme, which those perfidious wretches executed in a still more barbarous manner, by putting all the citizens to the sword, of whom they had invited the principal to entertainments, and afterwards obliging the wives and daughters to marry the murderers of their husbands and fathers. So enormous a crime did not remain unpunished, as we shall see in the sequel. The important wars which the Romans had upon their hands, undoubtedly prevented them from taking immediate vengeance of it. That care wholly engrossed them. To acquit themselves with honour in them, they elected two Consuls, both of great reputation.

A. R. 471.  
Ant. C. 281.  
*Horrid murder of all the citizens of Rhegium.*  
Dio & Diod. apud Val.

P. VALERIUS LEVINUS.

TIBERIUS CORUNCANIUS.

A. R. 472.  
Ant. C. 280.  
*Battle of*

In the division of the provinces between the Consuls, the war against Pyrrhus and the Taren-

*tines*  
*between Pyrrhus and the Consul Levinus.*

A. R. 472.  
Ant. C. 280.

Zonaras.

Plut. p.

292, 293.

tines fell to Levinus, and Hetruria to Coruncanius.

Levinus set out without loss of time, and marched in quest of the enemy. Pyrrhus was soon informed that the Consul was in Lucania, where he burned and destroyed everything. Though he had not yet received the succours from the allies, as he believed it very shameful to suffer the enemy to approach nearer, and to ruin the country almost in his sight, he took the field with the few troops he had. But he sent an herald before him to the Romans, to ask them whether they would not agree, before the war began, to terminate their differences with the Greeks of Italy, by making him the judge and arbiter of them. The Consul Levinus answered the herald, *That the Romans would neither take Pyrrhus for an arbiter, nor feared him as an enemy.* The answer is sufficiently lofty.

After the King had received it, he advanced with his troops, encamped in the plain between the cities Pandosia and Heraclea, and upon advice that the Romans were very near him, and encamped on the other side of the river Siris, he mounted on horseback, and approached the bank of that river to take a view of their situation. When he saw the appearance of their troops, their advanced guards, the fine order that prevailed universally, and the happy disposition of their camp, he was surprized; and addressing himself to one of his friends who was with him, (for so the ancients spoke, and Kings had friends :) *Megacles*, said he, *the dispositions of these Barbarians are by no means barbarous; we shall see how the rest will answer them.*

This view of the Roman army, and the security of Levinus, who had dismissed spies surprized

prized in his camp, after having told them, that he had another body of troops still more numerous ; all this gave Pyrrhus disquiet. He resolved not to hasten the battle, and to use delays as long as possible, in order to give the allies time to arrive, and to join their troops with his ; besides which the Romans being in an enemy's country, a long delay would incommode them considerably, in making them consume their provisions and forage. He contented himself therefore with sending a great detachment to dispute the passage of the river with the Romans, in case they should venture to attempt it.

In the design which Pyrrhus had formed of deferring the battle, it was a great advantage to him, to have the Siris between the Romans and him. For nothing is more difficult than to pass a river in the sight of an enemy, and it is scarce possible to succeed in it, except in deceiving him by stolen marches, and passing the river at places that are not guarded. An almost certain means to prevent that inconvenience, would have been to have divided the great detachment mentioned before into several small bodies, and to have posted them along the river at proper distances in such a manner, that they might all have re-joined each other at the first signal. This is what was wanting on this occasion, and I have observed, that it is a very common fault. The Consul perceiving that Pyrrhus avoided a battle, made a feint of confining himself, till he could force him to it, to destroying the enemy's country, and for that purpose detached all his cavalry, which ravaged the whole flat country without finding any resistance. When they were a great way from the camp, on a sudden they turned towards the river, forded it, and fell unawares upon Pyrrhus's detachment, which expecting

A. R. 472.  
Ant. C. 282.

A. R. 472.  
A. D. C. 285.

pecting nothing less, fled, regained the grofs of the army with precipitation, and left the passage open for the rest of the troops.

Pyrrhus, on this news, was in great perplexity, and ordered the officers of his infantry to draw up their troops in battle as soon as possible, and to wait his orders under arms. In the mean time, he advanced with expedition with all his cavalry, that amounted to about three thousand men, in hopes to surprize the Romans still passing the river with difficulty, and dispersed here and there without order. But when he saw a great number of Roman shields glittering on this side the river, and their cavalry marching against him in fine order, he closed his ranks, and began the attack. He was soon known by the beauty and splendor of his arms, which were very rich, but still more by his valour and intrepidity. He shewed by his actions, that the reputation he had acquired was not above his merit. He engaged in the battle without sparing himself, and beat down all before him : but he did not lose sight of the functions of a general, and in the midst of the greatest perils, retained the utmost coolness, gave his orders as if he had been remote from danger, and flew on all sides to re-instate affairs, and support those who were most pressed by the enemy.

In the heat of the action, an Italian horseman with spear in hand, confined himself solely to Pyrrhus, followed him every where with great ardor, and directed all his motions by those of the King. Having found a favourable moment, he aimed a great blow at him, which wounded only his horse. At the same time Leonatus of Macedonia killed the Italian's horse with his pike. The two horses being down, Pyrrhus was immediately surrounded by a croud of his friends,

friends, who carried him off, and killed the Italian horseman, fighting with great valour. This adventure taught Pyrrhus to use more precaution, and to take more care of his person, than he did : an essential duty in a general, on whose life the fate of an whole army depends.

The King seeing his cavalry give way, sent his infantry orders to advance, and immediately drew it up in battle. It does not seem to have acted till now. Instructed by the danger to which he had just been exposed, by making himself too well known to the enemy by his distinguished armour, he gave his royal mantle and arms to Megacles, one of his friends, and having disguised himself in his, he charged the Romans with vigour. The latter received him with abundance of courage. The battle was very obstinate, and the victory long doubtful. It is said that both sides gave way, and returned to the charge seven times.

Pyrrhus changed his arms very opportunely for saving his life : but on the other side, that change had almost proved fatal to him, and snatched the victory out of his hands. The enemy fell in crouds upon Megacles, whom they took for the King. One of the horse who wounded and laid him upon the earth, after having stripped off the arms and mantle which he wore, rode full speed to the Consul Levinus, and shewed them to him, crying out that he had killed Pyrrhus. Those spoils being carried through all the ranks in a triumphant mannner, filled the whole Roman army with inexpressible joy. Their cries of victory resounded on all sides ; whilst the army of the Greeks was in universal consternation and discouragement.

Pyrrhus, who perceived the terrible effect of the mistake, ran through all the lines bare-headed,

A. R. 472.  
Ant. C. 280.

*Pyrrhus is  
victorious  
by the  
means of  
his ele-  
phants.*

A. R. 472.  
Ann. C. 230.

P. 11.

P. 394.

headed, holding out his hands to his soldiers, and making himself known to them by his voice and gesture. The battle being renewed, the elephants at last principally determined the event of it. Pyrrhus had expressly reserved them to the end. This was the first time the Romans had seen this kind of animals ; and every body knows, that (*a*) things which strike the senses in a sudden and unforeseen manner, give the mind trouble and terror, because they do not leave it time to examine them coolly. Their extraordinary form, enormous height, the towers full of combatants on their backs, all struck the Romans with dread. The horses were still more frightened, and not being able to bear the smell of them, which was quite new, flung, pranced, and either ran away with their riders, or threw them on the ground. These elephants, breaking impetuously into the ranks of the Romans, spread fear on all sides, and crushed and trod down all that came in their way. Pyrrhus seeing them in this condition, charged them on a sudden with his Thessalian horse, which completed their disorder, and obliged them at length to fly after having made a great slaughter of them.

It was agreed, that Pyrrhus might have cut them entirely to pieces, if he had pursued them with more vigour. But his custom was not to push the enemy he had conquered to the utmost, lest their despair in another battle might serve them instead of courage, and prevent them either from flying or surrendering themselves. Besides which, the night, which came on, put a stop to the pursuit, and saved those who fled.

(*a*) Videntur omnia repentina graviora. *Tusc. l. 3. c. 28.*

Dionysius of Halicarnassus writes, according A. R. 472.  
Ant. C. 280. to Plutarch, that there was almost fifteen thousand men killed in this battle on the side of the Romans, and thirteen thousand on that of Pyrrhus. Other historians lessen the loss on both sides. It is certain that Pyrrhus lost the flower of his troops in it. Accordingly when somebody complimented him at his return to Tarentum on this victory : *I am irretrievably undone*, said he, *if I gain such another*. The next day, when he was considering on the field of battle, the bodies of the Romans, which he had ordered to be buried, to acquire the reputation of goodness and clemency ; amazed to see that they had all their faces turned towards the enemy, and had died of glorious wounds, he cried out : *O ! how easy it were for me to conquer the world with such soldiers !* He did all that he could, to induce those he had taken prisoners to list in his troops. He could not succeed : but he did not esteem them the less, and treated them with singular humanity, forbidding chains to be put upon them, and ordering that they should not be used with the other severities, to which prisoners are commonly exposed.

Pyrrhus seized the camp of the Romans, which he found abandoned, made several cities renounce their alliance, ravaged the countries of the States that continued faithful to them, and approached within three hundred stadia of Rome, that is to say, about fifteen leagues.

The Lucanians and Samnites having joined him after the battle, he warmly reproached them for their delay. But it was easy to perceive in his air that he was infinitely pleased with having defeated only with his own troops and those of the Tarentines, without the aid of the allies, so numerous and warlike an army of the Romans.

A. R. 4-2.  
A. C. 280.

Whilst Pyrrhus was industriously taking all the advantages, which he could hope from his victory, Levinus on his side was intent upon putting himself into a condition to retrieve his late loss as soon as possible. He visited the wounded, and took particular care of them. He drew tother those who had been dispersed in the flight. He consoled all the soldiers, in praising the valour they had shewn in the action; attributing their defeat solely to that unknown species of monsters, against the attack of which it had not been in their power to prepare themselves; and lastly, in giving them hopes of making the enemy's joy short-lived, and of soon washing out in their blood the stain of the last battle, wherein in other respects the loss had been equal on both sides.

A. R. 4-2.  
A. C. 280.  
P. 394.

The news of this defeat afflicted Rome, but did not abate her courage. Some of the Senators imputed the cause of it to the Consul. Fabricius said, *That he did not reckon the Romans defeated by the Epirots, but Levinus by Pyrrhus.* However, far from thinking of recalling him, it was decreed that new troops should be sent him as soon as possible. The levies were made with incredible passion, and two legions soon compleated. They set out without loss of time.

Pyrrhus  
approaches  
Rome: he  
is obliged to  
retire im-  
mediately.

The Consul, encouraged by so considerable reinforcement, followed Pyrrhus at the heels, lost no occasion to harass his rear-guard, and very much distressed his army. Having been apprized, that he intended to make himself master of Capua, he prevented him by a forced march, and deprived him of all means of putting his design in execution. Pyrrhus turned his views upon Neapolis. But seeing his hopes frustrated in like manner on that side, he sought to console and make himself amends by an enterprize

terprize infinitely above all the rest: this was to attack Rome itself. And he lost no time. Having taken Fregellæ on his way, and crossed the countries of Anagnia and the Hernici, he arrived at Præneste, which was but twenty miles from Rome. The city was in no consternation. The magistrates had before provided for its safety. But another more considerable reinforcement arrived opportunely, which made its security perfect. Coruncanius, the other Consul, after having quieted Hetruria, had been recalled to the aid of his country, and was very near Rome with his victorious army. Pyrrhus having endeavoured ineffectually to make the Hetrurians take arms, and seeing himself between two Consular armies, rightly discerned that there was no safety for him, and marched back into Campania with the utmost expedition.

This expedition of the King of Epirus may give us some feint strokes to guide us in forming an idea of his genius and character. He cannot be denied to have had great qualities: an elevation, a greatness of soul, truly royal, a peculiar attention to attaching persons of merit of all kinds to his service, a courage, a boldness, an intrepidity, which nothing could daunt, and which, as we have already observed, left him all his coolness and presence of mind in the greatest dangers, and in the very heat of the warmest actions. He passed undeniably for the most able general of his time in respect to the manner of embattelling an army, the art of encamping, and address in the choice of his posts; in short, to every thing relating to military knowledge and discipline. But he was a Prince of inconceivable levity; abandoned to his imagination; full of projects; always ready both to form new enterprizes, and to renounce them;

*A. D. 472.* never failing to flatter himself with good success,  
*A. C. 231.* whilst the experience of the past did not render him more cautious for the future; and to say all in a word, the perpetual sport of a restless ambition, that drew him on from project to project, from country to country, in holding up to him continually a phantom of power and greatness, which he seemed every moment upon the point of seizing, but which always escaped him, without ever undeceiving or disgusting him.

When Pyrrhus, on his return into Campania, saw the Consul Levinus at the head of an army much more numerous than before his defeat, he was exceedingly surprized. He had conceived thoughts of giving him battle a second time: but the sight of his troops so considerably augmented, made him change his design, and resume his route to Tarentum.

*Rome sends  
 an ambas-  
 sador to  
 Pyrrhus  
 concerning  
 the prisoners.  
 Plut.  
 P. 195.*

In the mean time, the Senate deliberated upon the conduct it was necessary to observe in respect to the soldiers who had been taken prisoners in the last battle. It was a maxim of policy at Rome, from which they did not depart even in the most unfortunate times, as we shall see when we come to the battle of Cannæ, not to ransom the soldiers who had surrendered themselves to the enemy out of fear. But the case was different now. Most of the prisoners were of the cavalry, who had given extraordinary proofs of their bravery in the battle, but whom their horses, terrified by the strange sight, noise, and smell of the elephants, had thrown, and made incapable of defence. It was therefore concluded that they should be ransomed, and for that purpose three of the principal Senators were nominated deputies to Pyrrhus. These were P. Cornelius Dolabella, famous for the defeat of the Senones, C. Fabricius Luscinus, and

Q. Æmilius Papus, who had been Consuls together two years before. A. R. 472.  
Ant. C. 280.

Pyrrhus being informed, that persons of such importance were deputed to him, believed they undoubtedly came to treat of peace ; which was what he wished extremely. To do them honour, he sent a considerable detachment to the frontier of the country of the Tarentines to escort them as a guard ; and when he knew that they were near, he went himself out of the gates of the city at the head of a body of his cavalry lightly armed, and conducted them to his palace, where they were treated with all possible distinction and magnificence. After the usual compliments, they opened the subject of their commission to the King, and told him they were come to treat concerning the ransom of prisoners, either by paying a certain sum for each, or by way of exchange.

It was the custom of Pyrrhus not to conclude any affair of importance without having first communicated it to his council. Accordingly he assembled them upon this occasion. Milo was of opinion “not to restore the prisoners, “to make the utmost of the victory they had “gained that could be expected from it, and “not to lay down their arms till the Romans “were entirely conquered and subjected.” Cineas thought very differently. *Great King*, said he, addressing himself to Pyrrhus, *it is knowing the Romans very ill, to imagine that the blow they have received, has made them either more timorous or tractable. They never shew more constancy and greatness of mind than in adversity. The best counsel therefore in my opinion, which can be given you, is to employ your wonted generosity on this occasion, to restore them their prisoners without ransom; and then to send ambassadors*

A. R. 472.  
A. M. C. 280.

as soon as possible with magnificent presents, to negotiate a peace with them. You may now do so with honour, and upon advantageous conditions: But, my Lord, suffer me to tell you, you are a man, and things may change: do not let slip so favourable an occasion, perhaps the only one you may have. The whole council applauded such good advice, and the King came into it.

*Instead of  
an ex-  
change the  
King pro-  
poses a  
peace.*

The deputies were brought in, and Pyrrhus said to them: You ask me, Romans, to dismiss your prisoners: But to restore you such brave soldiers, would be putting arms into your hands against myself. There is another shorter and more certain method; and that is for us to make a good peace with each other: I shall then restore them to you without ransom. I desire nothing more than to enter into a treaty of alliance and amity with a people so worthy of esteem and respect. He spoke this in common to all the deputies; and afterwards took Fabricius aside, to discourse with him freely and at leisure.

*The King's  
private  
ambition  
is to be  
a friend  
to the  
Romans.*

When they were alone, the King spoke to him to this effect. From the accounts which I have had of your great qualities, Fabricius, I exceedingly desire, that you should be one of my friends. I am told that you are a great Captain; that justice and temperance form your character, and that you pass for a man accomplished in every virtue. But I know also, that you have no estate, and that in this point only Fortune has dealt hardly with you, in reducing you as to the conveniencies of life to the condition of the poorest Senators. To supply what you want on that side, I am ready to give you as much gold and silver as will set you above the most opulent persons of Rome. Do not believe I imagine that I do you a favour in this: It is I who shall receive one if you accept my offers. FOR I AM PERSUADED,

DED, THAT NO EXPENCE DOES A PRINCE A. R. 472.  
Ant. C. 280.  
MORE HONOUR, THAN TO MAKE THE FORTUNES OF GREAT MEN, REDUCED BY POVERTY TO A CONDITION UNWORTHY OF THEIR MERIT AND VIRTUE, AND THAT SUCH AN USE IS THE NOBLEST A KING CAN MAKE OF RICHES. *For the rest, I am far from expecting that you should do me any unjust or dishonourable service by way of acknowledgment. What I ask of you can only do you honour, and augment your power in your country. I conjure you first to assist me with your whole credit in bringing your Senate into my views, which I believe just and reasonable. Represent to them, I beg you, that I have given my word to aid the Tarentines, and the other Greeks on this coast of Italy, and that I cannot in honour abandon them, especially as I am at the head of a powerful army, with which I have already gained a battle. However certain affairs have happened, that recall me into my own dominions ; and this is what makes me more ardently desire peace. Besides which, I find it difficult to sustain the part I act here, and to see myself obliged to consider a people so worthy of being beloved as enemies. Let them change that name into friends, and they shall find a faithful ally in me. If my quality of King renders me suspected to the Senate, because many who bear that name, have made no difficulty openly to violate the faith of treaties and alliances, be you yourself my guarantee, and join with me in assisting me with your counsels in all my enterprises, and in commanding my armies under me. I have occasion for a man of virtue, and a faithful friend ; and you, on your side, have occasion for a prince, who by his liberality may enable you to give a greater scope to the benevolence of your incli-*

A. R. 472. *inclinations. Let us not refuse ourselves then, but*  
 Ant.C. 280. *let us mutually offer our aid to each other.*

Pyrrhus having spoke thus, Fabricius, after a moment's silence, replied in these terms: *As you have already so favourable an idea of me, as well in respect to my personal conduct, as the administration of public affairs, it is needless for me to speak to you of them. You seem also sufficiently acquainted with my poverty, to spare me the trouble of telling you, that I have neither money to improve, nor slaves that bring me in any revenue: that my whole estate consists in an house of little appearance, and a small field that supplies me with subsistence. If you believe however, that poverty renders my condition inferior to that of any other Roman, and that whilst I discharge the duties of an honest man, I am the less considered, because not of the number of the rich; permit me to tell you, that the idea you have of me is not just, and deceives you, whether you have taken that opinion from others, or judge so of yourself. If I do not possess great fortunes, I never did, and still do not believe, that my indigence has ever done me any prejudice either in public functions, or my private life.*

*Has my country, on account of my poverty, ever debarred me of those glorious employments, that are the object of the emulation of all great minds? The greatest dignities are conferred upon me. I am placed at the head of the most illustrious ambassadors. The most sacred functions of divine worship are confided to me. When the most important affairs are to be deliberated upon, I hold my rank, and give my opinion in the council: I take place with the richest and most powerful; and if I have any thing to complain of, it is of being too much praised and honoured. To discharge all these employments, I expend nothing of my*

my own, no more than all the rest of the Romans. A. R. 472.  
Ant. C. 240.

Rome does not ruin her citizens by raising them to the magistracy. She bestows upon those in office all the helps they want, and supplies them with liberality and magnificence. (a) For it is not with our city as with many others, where the public is very poor, whilst private persons possess immense riches. We are all rich, when the Commonwealth is so, because she is so for us. In equally admitting the rich and poor to public employments according as she thinks them worthy, she makes all her citizens equal, and knows no other difference between them, but merit and virtue.

As to what concerns my private affairs, far from complaining of my fate, I esteem myself the most happy of men, when I compare myself to the rich, and feel a kind of delight, and even pride, rise up within me from this condition. My little field, barren as it is, supplies me with all that is necessary, provided I take due care to cultivate it, and preserve its fruits. Do I want any thing more? All nourishment is grateful to me, when seasoned with hunger. I drink with luxury, when I am a dry. I taste all the sweets of repose when I am weary. I content myself with an habit that keeps out the cold: and of all the moveables that serve for the same use, the meanest are those I like best. I should be unreasonable and unjust, if I accused fortune. She supplies me with all that nature requires: as to the superfluous, she has not given it me: but at the same time I have learnt not to desire it. To have few wants is great riches. Of what then should I complain? Not having this abundance indeed, I am not in a condition to relieve the wants of others; the sole advantage for

(a) Privatus illis cenis erat brevis.  
Commune magnum.

Horat.

which

A. R. 472.  
A.D.C. 280.

About an  
hundred  
thousand  
pounds

which the wealthy can be envied. But, whilst I impart to the Commonwealth and my friends the little I possess: whilst I render my country all the services of which I am capable; and in a word, do every thing that depends on me, with what can I reproach myself? The desire of enriching myself never entered into my thoughts. As I have been long employed in the administration of the Commonwealth, I have had a thousand opportunities of amassing great sums of money irreproachably. Could a more favourable one be desired, than I had some few years ago? With the Consular dignity I was sent at the head of a numerous army against the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians. I ravaged a great extent of country; I defeated the enemy in several battles; I took many cities full of plunder and opulence; I enriched the whole army with their spoils; I returned every citizen what he had supplied for the expenses of the war; and having received the honour of a triumph, I sent four hundred talents to the public treasury. After having neglected so considerable a booty, of which I might have appropriated whatever I thought fit; after having despised riches so justly acquired, and sacrificed the spoils of the enemy to the sense of glory, after the example of Valerius Publicola, and other great persons, who by their noble disinterestedness have carried the power of Rome to such an height; would it be consistent for me to accept the gold and silver you offer me? What idea would the world form of me? What example should I set my country? On my return to Rome, how should I support its reproaches, or even its looks? Would not our Censors, those magistrates whose function it is to watch over our discipline and manners, oblige me to give an account before all the world of the presents which you would make me accept?

You

*You therefore shall keep your riches, if you please,* A. R. 472.  
Ant. C. 289.  
*and I my poverty and reputation.*

I believe that Dionysius Halicarnassensis has put these discourses into the mouths of Pyrrhus and Fabricius: but in doing so, he has only expressed their sentiments in stronger colours, especially the latter's. For such was the character of the Romans in those glorious times of the Commonwealth. (a) Fabricius was truly convinced that there was more glory and real greatness in being able to despise all the King's gold, than in reigning.

How far are we from having such noble sentiments? (b) It would be deemed grossness and rusticity amongst us, and to reduce one's self to a state of meanness and misery, to be contented with so little, and not to extend one's desires beyond the mere necessities of life (c). Our ignorance of true greatness occasions our not discerning any thing great except in luxury and riches. But these illustrious Romans judged better, and reserved their whole esteem and admiration, not for indifferent things, for accidental possessions foolishly employed, but for actions of solid wisdom and virtue.

Pyrrhus the next day was for surprizing the Roman ambassador, who had never seen an elephant, and for trying whether he was as intrepid as he was disinterested. And because constancy or weakness principally shew them-

(a) Fabricius Pyrrhi regis aurum repulit, majusque regno judicavit regias opes posse contemnere. *Senec. Ep.* 120.

(b) Jam rusticitatis & miseriæ est, velle quantum fa-

tis est. *Senec. Ep.* 90.

(c) Professò omnes mortales in admirationem sui raperet (*he speaks of wisdom*) relictis his quæ nunc magna, magnorum ignorantia, credimus. *Id. Ep.* 89.

A. R. 472.  
A. U. C. 226

selves in the first impressions of surprize, he ordered the captain of his elephants to arm the greatest of them, to bring him to the place where he was to be in conversation with Fabricius, and to keep him behind a tapestry in order to make him appear when he gave the signal. This being accordingly executed, and the signal given, the tapestry was drawn aside, and that enormous animal appeared on a sudden raising his trunk over the head of Fabricius, with an horrid and dreadful cry. Fabricius, turning calmly towards Pyrrhus, said with a smile: *Neither your gold yesterday, nor your elephant to day can alter me.*

Entertainment  
of the  
ambassadors  
of the  
Tarentines

That evening the discourse at table turned on many things: amongst the rest they talked of the affairs of Greece, and in particular of the different sects of Philosophers. Cineas dwelt particularly upon Epicurus, and repeated what the Epicureans thought of the Gods, and the remoteness which the wise man, according to them, ought to have from the administration of public affairs, and the government of states. He said, “ That they made the great end and  
“ supreme good of man consist in pleasure ;  
“ that they reckoned dignities and offices, as  
“ the ruin and bane of that grateful indolence,  
“ in which they made happiness consist ; that  
“ they ascribed neither love, hatred, nor anger  
“ to the Divinity ; that they maintained he  
“ took no care of mankind, and that they banished him into a life of perfect tranquillity,  
“ where he passed whole ages void of all affairs, and plunged in an eternal circle of  
“ pleasures and delights.” It is highly probable, that the soft and voluptuous life of the Tarentines gave occasion for this discourse.

Whilst

(a) Whilst Cineas was still talking, Fabricius, to whom this doctrine was entirely new, and who could not conceive how a man who advanced such maxims should set up for a sage, especially in a city distinguished above all others for wit and learning, cried out as loud as he could: *Great Hercules, may the Samnites and Pyrrhus follow no other doctrine, whilst they are at war with the Romans!*

A. R. 472.  
Ant. C. 230.

Qui se sapientem profiteretur.

Which of us, to judge of the manners of the ancients from our own, would expect to find the subject of conversation amongst great warriors, turn not only upon affairs of policy, but matters of science and morality? Discourse of this kind, seasoned with wise reflections and lively repartees, is certainly as good as talk, which from the beginning to the end of an entertainment, often extends little farther than to praise and extol the goodness of meats, the sauce of ragouts, and the excellency of the wine and liquors, with exclamations worthy of Epicureans.

Pyrrhus admiring the Roman ambassador's greatness of soul, and charmed with his prudence and wisdom, desired the amity and alliance of his republic still more passionately, instead of to make war with it. Taking him aside, he conjured him again, after he should have mediated an accommodation between the two States, to stay with him and to live in his court, where he should have the first place amongst his

Return of the ambassador to Rome.

(a) Sæpe audiui à majoribus natu—mirari solitum C. Fabricium, quod cum apud regem Pyrrhum legatus esset, audisset a Thessalo Cineas, esse quemdam thesaurum qui se sapientem profiteretur: eumque dicere omnia quæ faceremus ad voluptatem esse referenda. Quod ex eo audientes M. Curium & T. Coruncanium optare solitos, ut id Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho persuaderetur, quo facilius vinci possent, cum se voluptatibus dedidissent. Cic. de Senect. 43.

friends

A. R. 472.  
Ann. C. 43.

friends and captains. *I would not advise you to that,* replied Fabricius, whispering him with a smile. *You don't know your own interest. For those who now honour and admire you, if they once knew me, would chuse rather to have me for their King than you.* Pyrrhus, far from being angry at that answer, only laughed at it, and valued him still the more for it. He confided two hundred of the prisoners to him, upon condition, if the Senate would not agree to a peace, that they should be returned. He even permitted such of the rest as were willing to visit their kindred and friends, and to celebrate the feast of the Saturnalia with them, to follow the former upon the same condition.

Pyrrhus  
sent Cineas to  
Rome to  
treat of  
peace.

Some days after the departure of the Roman ambassadors, Pyrrhus made his own set out. Cineas was at their head. We have said before, that he was his principal counsellor and confident. He set a great value upon him, knowing his merit, and often said, *That he had gained more places by the eloquence of Cineas, than by his own arms.* Cineas arrived at Rome with a magnificent equipage, and was received there with peculiar distinction. He conferred with the principal persons of the city, and sent to them all and to their wives, presents in the King's name. Not a single man of them would accept them. They all answered, as their wives did also, that when Pyrrhus should be become the friend and ally of Rome by a solemn treaty, he should have no reason to be dissatisfied with any of the Romans.

During the small stay which he made at Rome, he took great care, like a man of sense and an able negociator, to inform himself in the manners and customs of the Romans, and especially of those in the highest credit and reputation

putation amongst them ; to examine their conduct as well public as private ; to study the form of their government ; and to pry, as circumstantially as he could, into the forces and revenues of the commonwealth.

When Cineas had been introduced into the Senate, he opened his master's proposals, who offered to restore all their prisoners to the Romans without ransom, promised to aid them in conquering all Italy, and demanded nothing more from them except their amity, and entire security for the Tarentines. He did not fail to employ all his eloquence on so important an occasion, to express the warm and sincere desire of Pyrrhus to make an alliance with a commonwealth so powerful, and so abundant in great men ; and at the same time to set the urgent reasons in all their light, that obliged him to interest himself as he did for the inhabitants of Tarentum.

Many in the Senate, moved with the discourse of Cineas, seemed inclined to make peace with Pyrrhus, considering it as necessary, or at least as very advantageous, to the State : and this opinion was neither groundless, nor without reason. The Romans had lately been defeated in a great battle, and were upon the point of fighting a second. There was great cause to fear ; for Pyrrhus's forces had been considerably augmented by those of several States of Italy his confederates. It was the victor himself who asked peace with as much earnestness as if he had been conquered, and in consequence the honour of Rome was safe. The deliberation continued several days ; and as nothing got air abroad, it made Cineas very uneasy.

The courage of the Romans in these circumstances, had occasion for being animated by the

A. R. 472.  
Ant. C. 280.

*The Senate deliberates upon Pyrrhus's offers.*

*Ap. Claudius prevents the peace from being concluded.*

A. R. 471.  
Ant. C. 280.

famous Appius Claudius an illustrious Senator, whom his great age and the loss of sight, had obliged to retire from public affairs, and to confine himself to his house, which was a little commonwealth to him. (a) He had four sons men grown, and five daughters, without reckoning a great number of clients under his protection. Blind, and much advanced in years, as he was, he governed so numerous a family with wonderful order. His mind was always like a bent bow, and did not sink under, nor abandon itself to, the languor of old age. He was feared by his domestics, honoured by his children, and beloved by all men. He had known how to retain all the authority of command in his house, that was regarded as a school of virtue and love of the public, in which the ancient rules and customs of Rome were religiously observed.

Such was Appius. (b) Upon the spreading of a rumour in the city, that the Senate were inclined to accept the offers of Pyrrhus, he caused himself to be carried to the assembly, where every body kept a profound silence, as soon as he appeared. The venerable old man, to whom

(a) Quatuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantas clientelas Appius regebat & senex & cæcus. Intentum enim animum, tanquam arcum, habebat; nec languescens succumbebat senectuti. Tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos. Metuebant eum servi, verebantur liberi, carum omnes habebant. Vi-

gebat in illa domo patrius mos, & disciplina. *Cic. de Senect. 11.*

(b) Ad Ap. Claudii senectutem accedebat etiam ut cæcus esset. Tamen is, cum sententia patrum ad pacem inclinaret, & fœdus faciendum cum Pyrrho, non dubitavit dicere illa quæ versibus persecutus est Ennius:

Quo vobis mentes, rectæ quæ stare solebant  
Antehac, dementes sese flexere viai?

*Cic. de Senect. 6.*

zeal

zeal for the honour of his country seemed to have restored all his pristine vigour, demonstrated by reasons equally strong and sensible, that they were going to ruin all the glory Rome had hitherto acquired by a shameful treaty. Then transported with a noble indignation: *What, said he, are become of those lofty discourses which you held, and which have been re-echoed throughout the earth, that if Alexander the Great had come to Italy in the time of our youth, and in the vigour of our father's years, he would not have acquired the reputation of invincible; but that he would have added new glory to Rome, either by his flight or his death? And do you now tremble at the bare name of a Pyrrhus, who has passed his life in making his court to one of Alexander's guards, Ptolemy; who wanders like an adventurer from country to country, to shun the enemies he has at home; and has the insolence to promise you the conquest of Italy with the same troops that have not been able to preserve him a small part of Macedonia.* He said abundance of other things to the same effect, which re-animated the Roman generosity, and dispelled all the fears of the senate.

(a) Cato, or rather Cicero, uses this example of Appius, to prove, that age does not make men incapable of being useful to their country. Great affairs are not effected by strength and activity of body, but by good sense, right reason, and wise councils, founded in long experi-

(a) Nihil afferunt, qui in re gerenda versari senectutem negant, similesque sunt, ut si qui gubernatorem in navigando agere nihil dicant, cum alii malos scandant, alii per foros cursitent, alii sentinam exhaustiant: ille autem clavum tenens, sedeat in pup-

pi quietus. Non facit ea quæ juvenes: at vero multò majora & meliora facit. Non viribus——aut celeritate corporis res magnæ geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, & sententia: quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam augeri senectus solet. Cic. de Senect., 6.

*Life of  
Cineas  
in the  
Senate.*

ence ; advantages which age, so far from impairing, augments and confirms. To what is the good steering of a vessel owing ? Is it to the crew who run up and down, and are always in motion, or to the skill of the pilot, who seems quiet and idle, whilst he manages the helm ? This is what Appius did on the occasion in question. His authority swayed the whole Senate. By their common consent and unanimous voices the following answer was given to Cineas. *That Pyrrhus should begin by quitting Italy. That then, if he thought fit, he might send to ask peace. But that, as long as he should continue in their country in arms, the Romans would make war against him with all their forces, even though he had beat a thousand Levinus's.*

We see here some of those grand strokes which characterize the Roman people, as well as some of the great principles of policy, which raised them to so high a point of power and reputation ; *Never to give way to an enemy in adversity, and to shew at that time more courage and loftiness than ever.*

*Return of  
Cineas to  
Tarentum.*

Cineas had received orders to quit Rome the same day, and he did so. The Senate's answer strangely surprized Pyrrhus. So amazing a constancy, which he was far from expecting, shewed him that he ill knew the Roman people, and that those who had flattered him they were entirely discouraged by their defeat, had given him a false idea of them. When he asked Cineas, what he thought of the Senate and Rome during his stay there, that wise minister, who was not accustomed to flatter, and who had a master to deal with that did not require adulation, replied : *That the city seemed to him a temple, and the Senate an assembly of Kings.* Noble and just idea of both the one and the other ! so

much were the Gods universally respected in Rome, and so much dignity and grandeur were there in the deliberations of that august body. And as to the number of the inhabitants, which he had observed in their cities and countries, Cineas told him, *That he much feared Pyrrhus was fighting with an Hydra of Lerna, whom its very losses would multiply and strengthen.*

A. R. 472.  
Ant. C. 280.

## S E C T. IV.

*Census of the Roman citizens. Second battle with Pyrrhus near Asculum. Fabricius the Consul informs Pyrrhus that his physician had offered to poison him. Pyrrhus goes to Sicily to assist the Syracusans against the Carthaginians. The latter renew the treaty with the Romans. Rash enterprize of the new Consuls. Rufinus takes Crotona and Locri. Pyrrhus quits Sicily, and returns to Italy. Citizen punished for refusing to list. Third and last battle with Pyrrhus: victory gained by Curius. Famous triumph of that Consul. Pyrrhus deceives his allies, and steals away from Italy. Censorship remarkable for great severities.*

**T**HIS year the *Census* was compleated by C. A. C. a Plebeian Cenfor for the first time. The number of the citizens amounted to two hundred and seventy-two thousand two hundred and twenty-two. This ceremony was performed with pomp and rites of religion. The minister in them was one of the Censors, to whom it gave a pre-eminence in point of honour and distinction over his colleague. Though the Plebeians had been admitted to the Censorship sixty-eight years, no Plebeian Cenfor had ever acted in this function hitherto.

A. R. 472.  
Ant. C. 280.  
Plin. l. 3.  
c. 10. At this time may be dated the pretended project of Pyrrhus for laying a bridge over the sea between Hydruntum (*Otranto*) and Apollonia, to facilitate the passage and commerce between Epirus and Italy. The passage, according to Pliny, was fifty miles. The enterprize was absurd, but much in Pyrrhus's character, who, as well as Nero, was fond of bold and extraordinary projects: *incredibilium cupitor*.

Tacit.  
Ann. l. 15.

C. 42.

P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.

A. R. 473.  
Ant. C. 279.

P. DECIUS MUS.

Second battle with  
Pyrrhus near Ascu-  
lum.

Freinsh.

l. 13. c. 36

—52.

Zonar. l. 7.

C. 5.

Pyrrhus, at the beginning of the spring, had taken the field, and entered Apulia, where he had already taken some cities. The new Consuls arrived there soon after with two Consular armies, and halted at Asculum near the enemy. Every thing denounced an approaching battle, and both sides prepared for it. The armies were separated only by a river. A report spread that the Consul Decius, after the example of his father and grandfather, intended to devote himself for his country; which terrified the army of Pyrrhus. He re-assured his soldiers, and told them that victory was not obtained by devoting one's self, but by fighting valiantly. And to remove all cause of fear, after telling them in what manner the Consul would be habited, in case he devoted himself, he gave them notice not to discharge their darts at him, but to take him alive. Zonaras adds, that Pyrrhus sent to tell Decius not to think of devoting himself; for if he did, he would have cause to repent it.

The Consuls, in order to be in a condition to give battle, caused Pyrrhus to be asked, whether he would pass the river, or expect them on his side. He chose the latter. The two

armies

armies were equal both as to number and valour, and each consisted of forty thousand men. The battle was fought with great obstinacy. The Romans sustained the phalanx of Pyrrhus, which was the most terrible part of his army, with abundance of courage. The elephants, which were no longer new to them, gave them less trouble. The ardor and resolutions of both armies were great, and it was very hard to separate them, which was not done till night, and after Pyrrhus had been wounded in the arm with a javelin, and his baggage plundered by the Apulians. Nothing certain can be said of the success, so much authors differ on that head. The most probable opinion is, that the loss was great, and almost equal on both sides. It is not known whether Decius devoted himself or not. Cicero in more places than one, affirms the first. The loss of the books of Livy, where the matters of which we are speaking, were treated at large, occasions great uncertainty and obscurity in this place. Whatever the event of this battle near Asculum might be, there was no other action this year. New Consuls were however nominated at Rome.

A. R. 473.  
Ant. C. 279.

C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS II.

Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS II.

A. R. 474.  
Ant. C. 278.

These two illustrious Consuls had already been colleagues in this office. Whilst they were encamped, a stranger came to Fabricius with a letter from the King's physician, who offered to poison Pyrrhus, if the Romans would give him a reward proportioned to the service he should do them, in terminating so great a war without any danger to them. Fabricius, retaining the same fund of probity and justice

*Fabricius informs Pyrrhus, that his physician intends to poison him.*

A. R. 444.  
A.D. C. 278.

in the midst of war, which furnishes so many pretexts for violating both, and knowing, that there are inviolable rights in respect even to enemies, was struck with just horror at such a proposal. As he had not suffered himself to be overcome by the King's gold, he believed also, that it was infamous to conquer the King by poison. After having conferred upon it with his colleague Æmilius, he immediately wrote to Pyrrhus, to advise him to be upon his guard against so black a treachery. His letter was conceived in these terms.

CAIUS FABRICIUS,

A N D

QUINTUS ÆMILIUS,

C O S S.

To King PYRRHUS,  
H E A L T H.

*YOU* seem to judge ill both of your friends and enemies; and you will agree with us in this, when you have read the letter, which has been wrote to us. For you will see, that you make war upon a people of worth and honour, and repose your whole confidence in the vile and perfidious. It is not only out of regard to you that we send you this advice, but to ourselves, that your death may not give occasion for calumniating us, and that the world may not think we had recourse to treachery, because we despaired of being able to terminate this war happily by our valour.

Pyrrhus

Pyrrhus on the receipt of this letter, cried out: (a) *This is Fabricius; it is easier to make the Sun quit his course, than to make him depart from justice and probity.* When he had fully discovered the truth of the fact mentioned in the letter, he punished his physician with death. And to testify his gratitude to Fabricius and the Romans, he sent the Consul all the prisoners he had taken without ransom, and deputed Cineas to him again, to endeavour to conclude a peace with him. The Romans, who would neither accept a favour from the enemy, nor a reward for not having committed the most abominable injustice against him, did not refuse the prisoners, but returned them a like number of Tarentines and Samnites. And as to what regarded the treaty of peace and amity, they adhered to the first answer of the Senate.

Seneca, in comparing the action of Fabricius, of which we have just spoke, with his noble disinterestedness in refusing the offers of Pyrrhus, and (b) representing him as a man truly worthy of admiration, who adhered inviolably to the principles of probity, who shewed himself just and virtuous in the midst of the licentiousness of wars, and who knew that there are rules of honour even in regard to enemies, which cannot be violated without guilt. Seneca, I say, had reason to conclude, That not to suffer himself to be conquered by gold, and to disdain to conquer by poison, are two actions which arise from the same fund, the same

(a) Hic est ille Fabricius, qui difficilius ab itinere justitiae & honesti, quam à cursu suo sol averti possit. *Eutrop.*

(b) Admirati sumus ingentem virum——boni exem-

pli tenacem; quod difficillimum est, in bello innocentem, qui aliquod esse crederet etiam in hoste nefas. *Sen. Ep. 120.*

greatness

A. R. 474. greatneſs of ſoul. *Ejuſdem animi fuit, auro non*  
 Ant. C. 278. *vinci, veneno non vincere.*

The ſame (a) Seneca aſks, whether that illuſtrious Roman was very unfortunate, or much to be lamented, for cultivating his little eſtate with his own hands, when not employed by the Commonwealth, for making war no leſs againſt riches than Pyrrhus, and for being contented with the herbs and roots for his whole food, which his triumphant hands had planted and watered in his field?

He aſks almoſt the ſame queſtion in reſpect to Curius. Can (b) we believe, ſays he, that our Dictator, who gave the Samnites audience, whiſt he was dreſſing his herbs over the fire with the ſame hands that had ſo often put the enemy to flight, and placed the triumphal laurel in the lap of Jupiter Capitolinus, led a leſs happy life than the famous Apicius of our time, who ſetting himſelf up for the great profeſſor of good eating and drinking, has infected and corrupted the whole age by his unhappy ſkill in gluttony.

The ancients took great care to ſet their juſt value upon theſe truly eſtimable actions, and to perpetuate the remembrance of them. It is not the ſame amongſt us, with whom the moſt

(a) Infelix eſt Fabricius, quod rus ſuum, quantum à Rep. vacavit, fodit? quod bellum tam cum Pyrrho, quam cum divitiis gerit? quod ad focum cœnat illas ipſas radices & herbas, quas in agro repurgando triumphalis ſenex vultit. *Senec. de Prov. d. cap. 3*

(b) Scilicet minus beatè vivebat Dictator noſter, qui

Samnitium legatos audit, cùm viliffimum cibum in foco ipſe manu ſua verſaret, illâ qua jam ſæpe hoſtem percufferat, laureamque in Capitolini Jovis gremio repoſuerat; quam Apicius noſtra memoria vixit! qui ſcientiam popinæ profeſſus, diſciplina ſua ſeculum infecit. *Senec. de conſol. ad Helicarn. c. 10.*

memo-

memorable facts often remain buried in obscurity. Lewis XI. caused his perpetual enemy, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, to be informed of the treachery of Campobasso the Italian.

I return to Pyrrhus. He was in great perplexity. Having lost his best troops and bravest officers, he rightly perceived that he could not set a new army on foot like the Romans, who (c) even from their defeat derived new forces and new ardor to continue the war. Whilst these sad thoughts engrossed him, and he saw scarce any resource, and no honourable method for extricating himself from an enterprise, in which he had engaged too inconsiderately, a ray of hope and good fortune revived his courage. On the one side, deputies arrived from Sicily, who came to put Syracuse, Agrigentum, and Leontium, into his hands, and to implore his aid against the Carthaginians. On the other, couriers from Greece brought him advice, that Macedonia seemed to hold out her hands, and to offer him her throne. He determined for Sicily, and without loss of time sent Cineas thither before him, to treat with the people who called him into their aid, and to assure them that he would immediately follow in person. Then, leaving a great garrison in Tarentum against the consent of the inhabitants, who saw with pain that Pyrrhus abandoned and however kept them in subjection, he promised them, in case they were pressed by the Romans, to fly with the utmost expedition to their aid, which he could easily do, as he was very near them. He had been two years and four months in Italy.

(a) Ab ipso ducit opes animumque ferro. *Horat.*



avarice and passion for enriching himself, that occasioned his committing abundance of oppressions, which had made Fabricius, that great lover of poverty, his declared enemy. It was however the same Fabricius, who by his credit occasioned Rufinus to be nominated Consul, because in the present conjuncture, the Commonwealth wanted a good general, and none of those who stood for that office, seemed to him to have the necessary talents. When (a) Rufinus came to thank him for it, quite astonished at an interest he so little expected, Fabricius told him, *My reason for such a conduct is, because I had rather be plundered by the Consul, than sold by the enemy.*

The Consuls left the Tarentines quiet for some time, in order to attack the Samnites. The latter finding, that the whole weight of the war fell upon them; that their country was destroyed; and that they could not resist such numerous troops; thought proper to take refuge, with their wives and children and most valuable effects, upon very high and steep mountains. The Romans full of contempt for enemies that fled before them, undertook to attack them there, but without observing any order, and taking any precautions. Their temerity cost them dear. The Samnites, pursuing them with volleys of darts and stones in difficult places, killed a considerable number of them. Many fell down the precipices, and were miserably dashed to pieces. Others who

A. R. 475.  
Ant. C. 277.

Rash enterprize of the Consuls.

Freinsh. xiv. 1.

(a) Cum Fabricio P. Cornelius, homo, ut exultimabatur, avarus, & furax, sed egregiè fortis & bonus imperator, gratias ageret, quòd se homo inimicus Consulem

fecisset, bello præsertim magno & gravi: nihil est quo mihi gratias agas, inquit; se malui compilari quam venire. Cic. 2. de Orat. 268. Jul. Gell. IV. 8.

could

A. R. 475.  
Ant. C. 277.

*Rufinus  
takes Cro-  
tona and  
Locri.*

could neither escape nor defend themselves were taken alive. The loss was great, and the shame still more so. The Consuls discontented with each other, and each attributing the disadvantage they had sustained to his colleague, divided in hopes of succeeding better, when they acted separately, and in their own names. Brutus continued with his legions in Samnium; and Rufinus advanced into the territories of the Lucanians and Brutians. The first thing he did there, was to ruin the country; after which he formed the design of a more important enterprize. This was the siege of Crotona, a very great and rich city, situate at the extremity of Italy, near the promontory of Lacinium, thro' which the river Æfarus ran. He did not rely upon taking it by force, but by intelligence, as he had been given reason to hope, because the inhabitants were highly dissatisfied with Pyrrhus. He would undoubtedly have made himself master of it; but the Crotoniates, whether they suspected any thing, or had been apprized of the conspiracy, had caused aid to come from Tarentum. Rufinus, who was not informed of this, having approached the walls with too much security, that new reinforcement of Lucanians commanded by Nicomachus, and supported by the garrison, made a terrible salley upon the Consul, put him into disorder, and killed abundance of his troops. He quitted the siege, and prepared to march away directly. That news soon spread in Crotona. At the same instant a prisoner who had escaped from the enemies camp, arrived, and declared that Rufinus was going to attack Locri, in effect of a promise made to open the gates to him. Another arrived presently after, who added, that the army of the enemy was up-  
on

on the march. And accordingly the ensigns and troops were seen at distance in motion upon the way that led to Locri. No time was lost. Necomachus set out with his Lucanians by by-ways to aid Locri. The march of Rufinus was only a feint. He returned immediately, fell suddenly on Crotona, and made himself master of it, almost before the inhabitants knew he was come back; a thick fog which rose very opportunely for him having favoured him so much. Nicomachus did not discover his blind credulity, till it was too late to retrieve it; and to compleat his misfortune, when he returned to Tarentum, he was attacked by Rufinus, lost part of his troops, and escaped himself with great difficulty. Upon this news, the inhabitants of Locri, who suffered the yoke of Pyrrhus with impatience, surrendered themselves to the Romans. Rufinus, on his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph.

A. R. 475.  
Ant. C. 277.

Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS GVRGES II.  
C. GENVCIVS CLEPSINA.

A. R. 476.  
Ant. C. 276.

The Samnites, Lucanians, and Brutians were vigorously pressed by the two Consuls. Reduced to great extremities they sent deputies to Pyrrhus, to let him know that if he did not aid them immediately, they were utterly undone: that they could support the Romans no longer, and that to prevent their entire ruin, they should be obliged to surrender themselves. This deputation arrived very happily to extricate him out of the difficulty he was under. Every thing had at first succeeded in Sicily beyond what he could have expected. Those good successes were as much the fruits of his mildness, generosity, and insinuating behaviour,

*Pyrrhus  
quits Sicily,  
and re-  
turns into  
Italy.*

as

A. R. 476.  
A. M. C. 276.

as of his valour and ability in the art of war. Great prosperity is great temptation. It corrupted in him those amiable qualities, and made them degenerate into haughtiness, rigor, and even cruelty, and rendered him odious and insupportable to the States of Sicily. In consequence of this general disgust every thing tended to a revolution far from advantageous to him. He therefore was overjoyed with having an honourable pretext for leaving Sicily. On quitting it, reflecting upon the happy situation of the island, and the riches of its cities: *O my friends*, said he to those who surrounded him, *what a fine field of battle do we leave to the Romans and Carthaginians?*

In his passage he was attacked and defeated first by the Carthaginians, and afterwards by the Mamertines, and driven by a violent storm, which destroyed part of his fleet: he did not arrive at Tarentum with twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, till after having undergone many misfortunes and disasters.

Rome in the mean time was much afflicted with a plague. To get rid of it, a ceremony, of which we have spoken before, was employed, which was to drive a nail into the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol; and for that purpose a Dictator was expressly nominated, who was, as is believed, Cornelius Rufinus.

M' CURIUS DENTATUS II.

A. R. 477.  
A. M. C. 275.

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

*Citizens refused to  
be armed for  
having re-  
fused to  
list.*

Val. Max.  
vi. 5.

The war was another scourge, which had lasted many years, and of which every body was very weary; so that when Curius was for making the levies as usual in the Capitol, and ordered the citizens whom he thought proper to list,

list, to be called by name, according to custom, none of them answered. He believed, that to put a stop to that disorder, the good of the public required an example to be made. Accordingly he ordered the names of all the tribes to be put into an urn : and the lot having fallen upon the tribe Pollia, and afterwards by a second operation of the like nature, upon a certain citizen of that tribe, he caused him to be summoned to list several times successively. As he did not comply, he ordered his effects to be sold. Upon that he immediately ran and appealed to the Tribunes, who paid no regard to his appeal. The Consul then having declared, that the Commonwealth had no occasion for a citizen who refused her his obedience, sold both his estate and himself. This afterwards became a custom. Such severity was useful. The levies were made directly, and the Consuls set out, Lentulus for Licania, and Curius for Samnium.

Pyrrhus immediately quitted Tarentum, and took the field in order to march against Curius. The Samnites retained a secret resentment for his having abandoned them to go to Sicily, and did not furnish him with the troops he demanded without difficulty. But their own interest, and the danger they were in, determined them to comply. He divided his army into two bodies. The one he sent into Lucania, to oppose Lentulus who was there, and to prevent him from marching to the aid of his colleague. As to him, with the second body he marched against M' Curius, who was intrenched in an advantageous post near the city of Beneventum, in expectation of the aid which was to come from Lucania.

A. R. 477.  
Ant. C. 275.

*Third and  
last battle  
with Pyr-  
rhus. Vic-  
tory gained  
by Curius.*

For this reason Pyrrhus made haste to attack him. He chose the best of his troops, and the most warlike and best provided of his elephants, and set out in the close of the evening to surprize him in his camp. But early the next Morning the Romans discovered him as he was coming down the mountains, on which night and the difficulty of the way had detained him longer than he expected. Curius quitted his intrenchments with some troops, and charged the first he came up with. Having put them to flight with loss, all the rest were seized with terror. A great number of them were killed, and some elephants taken.

This success emboldened the Consul to make his army quit their post in order to come to a general action in the open field. He had at first the advantage of one of his wings, and put the enemy into disorder. Pyrrhus then had recourse to his elephants, and by their means made the other wing give way, and pushed it as far as the body of reserve. He there found good troops in arms, and quite fresh. They had learnt in the last battle, that not only arms, but fire particularly, was necessary to be used for repulsing the elephants. For that purpose they had contrived a machine resembling a dart, of which the hollow iron was filled and wrapt round with combustibles, as pitch, tow, and the like. At the extremity the machine had a point in order to its sticking fast. They discharged these instruments lighted against the backs and towers of the elephants, and whether they stuck to the flesh or the tower, they continued burning, and strangely tormented those animals. Others pierced them with their pikes and darts. All together forced the elephants to turn their backs upon their own bat-  
talions :

talions : which occasioned such a confusion, and so great a disorder, that the Romans at last gained a compleat victory. A. R. 477.  
Ant. C. 275.

The Romans killed twenty-six thousand of the enemy in this battle, and took thirteen hundred, with eight elephants. Pyrrhus escaped to Tarentum with a small number of horse. His camp was taken. The disposition of it was admired, and afterwards used by the Romans. (a) Anciently they and the other nations of Italy had no camp marked out, the soldiers pitching their tents after the manner of shepherds, without observing lines or any other precaution, except not removing too far from their own corps. Pyrrhus was the first who gave them the example of inclosing the whole army within the compass of the same camp ; the post of each body of troops being marked out in fixed places with wonderful order. The Romans, in process of time, made great improvements in that part of military knowledge which relates to encampments.

This last victory over Pyrrhus may be said in some sense to have been worth the conquest of all nations to the Romans, or at least to have contributed much towards it. For the valour they shewed in this battle, and the great things they had done in the others, against such an enemy as Pyrrhus, infinitely augmented their reputation, forces, and confidence in themselves, and caused them to be considered as invincible. By the victory over Pyrrhus, they became the indisputable masters of all Italy between the two

(a) *Castra antiquitus Romani ceteræque gentes passim per corpora cohortium velut mapalia constituere soliti erant, cum solos urbium mu-* *ros nosset antiquitas. Pyrrhus, Epirotarum rex, primus totum exercitum sub eodem vallo continere instituit. Frontin. l. 4. c. 1.*

A. R. 477.  
Ant. C. 275.

seas. Sicily soon followed, where the wars with Carthage began; and after they had humbled that powerful rival, they found nothing that could oppose them.

*Censorship famous for strict severity.*

Liv. Epit.

14.

Aul. Gell.

l. 17 c. 21.

This year, so glorious abroad for the success of the war, was rendered illustrious also at home by severity and zeal for the support of discipline and good manners in the city. Fabricius Luscinus and Æmilius Papus exercised the Censorship together with great union. They degraded several Knights and Senators. But the most extraordinary of their proceedings was the note of infamy which they set upon Cornelius Rufinus. He had been twice Consul, and once Dictator. The Censors excluded him from the Senate, and gave for their reason, that they were informed he had ten pounds of silver plate for his table. His family laboured long under this disgrace, and did not entirely retrieve it till Sylla, who was the first descendant of Rufinus that attained the Consulship. (a) One can scarce believe, says an author, that what would one day be considered in the same city as a poor and most contemptible quantity of plate, should ever have been condemned in it as an excess of luxury: so much in honour were simplicity and frugality in those happy ages. After the *Census* was completed, it was closed with the usual ceremonies. The number of the citizens were found to be two hundred and seventy-one thousand two hundred and twenty-four.

About the end of the year the two Consuls entered the city in triumph. Curius received that honour first. His triumph was the most illustrious, as well for the greatness of the events,

(a) Vix credibile est, intra idem pomerium decem pondos argenti & invidiosum fuisse censum, & inopiam haberi contemptissimam. *Val. Max. l. 2. c. 9.*

as the joy occasioned by terminating so important a war successfully, and even the pomp and splendor of the Shew. Hitherto, as the Romans had only triumphed over the neighbouring States, most of whom were sufficiently poor: the whole sight consisted of little more than colours, broken arms, and chariots of the Gauls; and all the booty, of flocks and herds of great and small cattle. But in This the different nations whose captives were led in the front of the procession, and the magnificence of the spoils, extremely exalted the triumph. The Epirots, Theffalians, Macedonians, Apulians, Lucanians, and Brutians, were led in chains before the victor's chariot. Statues and the finest paintings of the most famous artists, gold, silver, purple, other rarities from beyond sea, with all that administered to the luxury of the Tarentines. But what struck the spectators, and attracted their attention most, was four elephants out of eight that had been taken. The rest had died of their wounds. The largeness, height and figure of those animals, their trunk, which they moved on all sides, and which served them instead of an hand, the heavy towers on their backs, still almost astonished and terrified the spectators. (a) It is certain, that the Roman people beheld nothing with so much pleasure as those oxen of Lucania, (for that was the name the simplicity of the Romans of those times gave elephants) which following the victorious horse with their heads hanging down, seemed to have a sense of their captivity.

(a) Nihil libentius pop. Romanus aspexit, quam illas, quas timuerat, cum turribus suis belluas: quæ, non sine sensu captivitatis, summissis cervicibus victores equos sequebantur. *Flor. l. 1. c. 13.*

A. R. 477.  
A.D. C. 275.

The other Consul's triumph was not till some weeks afterwards. It was very far from being so splendid as that which preceded it: but however, it deserves to be remembered. Lentulus had defeated the Samnites and Lucanians, and taken many of their towns. Not merit, but occasion only, had been wanting on his side; and the too shining glory of his colleague had somewhat eclipsed his.

At Rome nothing was seen but joy. The States of Italy and Pyrrhus were in very different dispositions. The first had long suffered that Prince's sway with pain, upon whose faith and aid they could no longer rely. The loss of the last battle had raised their discontent to the highest pitch, and in their present state of despair, they conceived a thousand violent thoughts. Pyrrhus was not ignorant of this, and revolved nothing but how to remove from Italy, and to find, if he could, a plausible pretext to cover his honour. The more this design engrossed him, the more he disguised it, in order to be in a condition to execute it with the greater safety and promptitude.

He saw his allies in the greatest sadness and dejection. He endeavoured to console them, and exhorted them not to be discouraged by one unfortunate accident. He represented to them,  
 “ That their loss in the last battle was not  
 “ greater than that of the Romans in the first:  
 “ That notwithstanding, that people, whatever  
 “ conditions were proposed to them, would ne-  
 “ ver hearken to a peace. That if they would  
 “ imitate their constancy, and reserve themselves  
 “ for better times, they might hope every thing.  
 “ That they had troops sufficiently numerous to  
 “ enable them still to support a long war. That  
 “ as for him, he relied upon the powerful friends  
 “ he

“ he had in Greece, from whom he expected A. R. 477.  
Ant. C. 275.  
 “ certain and considerable aid.” He talked in this manner, not that he was either much in pain about their interests, or had thoughts of continuing much longer in Italy, for he had already resolved to leave it as soon as possible, but to retain them within their duty, and to conceal his design. The better to cover it, he sent deputies to different Princes, to demand money of some, troops of others, and both of Antigonus, who was then master in Macedonia.

These hopes amused the allies for some time. However, he made preparations for his departure with the utmost secrecy. In this interval his deputy to Antigonus returned with that Prince’s answer. But instead of the real one, he invented another according to his views, which he read to the principal persons of his allies. It promised great and speedy aids. The allies were all deceived, as well as the Romans in the neighbourhood, amongst whom this report was industriously spread. The next night he set sail, and landed in Epirus. What name would one give such a conduct amongst private persons? He left Milo in the citadel, and carried away eight thousand foot and five hundred horse with him.

Such was the issue of Pyrrhus’s enterprize against Italy, which had continued six years. He afterwards formed others of the like nature: for, to define him aright, he was a true adventurer, who often extricated himself out of the bad affairs in which his inconsiderate levity had engaged him, at the expence of his faith and engagements. He at last perished miserably in Argos two or three years after.

A. R. 472.  
 ANL C. 274.

M' CURIUS DENTATUS, III.

SER. CORNELIUS MERENDA.

As Rome expected the continuance of the war with Pyrrhus, it was thought proper also to continue Curius in the Consulship. The retreat, or rather flight of that prince perhaps deprived that illustrious Roman of a new victory: but it did not deprive him of the glory of having driven him out of Italy for ever by the great victory he had gained over him: for it was Curius who had contributed most to that event. There was even room to believe, that Pyrrhus did not care to measure his sword a second time with that Consul.

It must be confessed, that the latter years of which we have been speaking, were very productive both of great men and great actions. I do not mean only the victories gained over the enemy, the limits of the State considerably extended, valour and intrepidity in battle, attended with a coolness and presence of mind, which see and weigh every danger without emotion, the knowledge of the art of war carried almost into perfection in every kind; in a word, all that makes great captains, and is called military merit and ability. I mean principally another kind of merit, which, sustained and ennobled by the first, has done the Roman Empire an honour peculiar to itself, and which no other nation has since imitated: this consisted in simplicity, temperance, sobriety, and above all, a disinterestedness, that rose so high as the esteem and love of poverty; and that in the greatest statesmen and most illustrious generals. I say it was this kind of merit, that did most honour to the Roman name: an honour, of which the long series of ages, which have since elapsed,

4

have

have not been able to abridge the lustre. For <sup>A. R. 478.</sup>  
we can almost still cry out with Lælius : <sup>Ant. C. 274.</sup>

“(a) Which of us can hear Curius or Fabricius  
“ spoken of without feeling his bosom glow  
“ with a kind of amity and love for them ;  
“ and without being struck with admiration  
“ for their noble sentiments, in seeing them de-  
“ spise the things which the rest of mankind  
“ pursue with insatiable ardor ?” Happy, had  
they known what was wanting to their good  
qualities, and was capable of rendering them  
truly virtuous !

(a) Quis est qui C. Fabri-  
cii, Man. Curii non cum ca-  
ritate aliqua & benevolentia  
memoriam usurpet, quos nun-  
quam viderit ? quod eas res

spernunt & negligunt, ad  
quas plerique inflammati avi-  
ditate rapiuntur. *De Amicit.*  
n. 28. *Offic. l. 2. c. 38.*

## S E C T. V.

*Embassy of Ptolomy Philadelphus to the Romans. Vestal punished with death. New colonies. Tarentum surrenders to the Romans. War with the Samnites entirely terminated. Return of the Roman ambassadors from Egypt. Censorship of Curius. The conquered enemies are deprived of part of their lands. Severe vengeance taken by Rome of the legion which had massacred the inhabitants of Rhegium. Money first coined at Rome. New colonies. War with the Picentes happily terminated. The peace of Italy entirely established by the submission of the Salentini and Umbrians. The Apollonians, and afterwards the Volturnians, implore the aid of Rome. Regulation in respect to the Censors. Number of the Quæstors doubled and augmented to eight.*

A. R. 499.  
A. M. C. 273.

C. FABIVS DORSO.

C. CLAVDIVS CANINA, II.

*Embassy of Ptolomy Philadelphus to the Romans.*  
Freinsh. l. 4. c. 33.  
—49.  
**P**Tolomy Philadelphus King of Egypt, having received advice of the flight of Pyrrhus, sent to congratulate Rome upon that head, and to demand the alliance of the Roman people. An embassy from so remote and powerful a Prince gave the commonwealth great pleasure; and she sent four of the principal persons of Rome as ambassadors to thank him, and to conclude a treaty with him.

The Consuls gained several advantages over the Lucanians, Samnites, and Brutians, whom necessity and despair still kept in arms.

*Vestal punished with death.*  
The Vestal Sextilia, convicted of having violated her vow, is punished with death, and buried alive.

Colonies

Colonies are sent to Cosa in the country of the Volsci, and to Pæstum, otherwise called Posidonia, in Lucania.

A. R. 479.  
Ant. C. 273.  
*New colonies.*

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, II.

SP. CARVILIUS, II.

A. R. 480.  
Ant. C. 272.

Pyrrhus perished in Argos this year.

The death of that Prince left the people of Italy no hope, nor any resource : such of them as were at liberty to make choice of what suited them best, came to an accommodation with the Romans upon the best conditions they could. But as for the Tarentines, the garrison Pyrrhus had left in their citadel kept them in awe. They were entirely at variance with Milo, who commanded, and in a state of real slavery. Tormented within by the governor, and having the Romans to fear without, they applied to the Carthaginians, and implored their aid. The latter, without loss of time, set sail with their fleet, in appearance to drive Milo out of the citadel, but really to defend it against the Romans, and to make themselves masters of it. As they were in possession of a considerable part of Sicily, they had a great interest in securing the coasts of Italy also to themselves, and in preventing them from falling into the hands of the Romans. In the mean time the Consul Papirius arrived. Tarentum in consequence was shut up on all sides, the Romans besieging the city by land, and the Carthaginians the citadel by sea. Papirius had more address than the latter, and shewed it on this occasion. He caused Milo to be sounded. He offered him the most advantageous conditions for himself and the inhabitants, and gave him all possible assurances of making them good. Milo, seeing nothing better for him to do, and having no other

A. R. 480.  
Ant. C. 272.

other resource, engaged the Tarentines to surrender the city and citadel to the Consul. The Carthaginians were much surprized and afflicted at this stroke. To declare against the Romans in favour of Tarentum, was in some measure to violate the treaty with the Romans. This discontent already prepared the way for an open rupture.

*War with  
the Sam-  
nites en-  
tirely ter-  
minated.*

Carvilius, the other Consul, spared no pains also on his side to subject the Samnites. They surrendered themselves, but with better faith than they had done hitherto; and accepted in earnest the conditions the Romans thought fit to impose upon them. Thus at last was a war happily terminated, which had continued about seventy years, including some intervals of no long duration, which from time to time had suspended hostilities.

The Lucanians and Brutians were several times defeated, and also reduced to ask peace, which was granted them.

The two Consuls had an equal share in such advantageous events, acting in concert and even often together, and mutually aiding each other with their troops according to occasion. In consequence, they both triumphed together.

*Return of  
the Roman  
ambassa-  
dors from  
Egypt.*

The ambassadors being returned from Egypt, reported their commission in the Senate. They said, “ That the king had received them in  
“ the most obliging and honourable manner  
“ conceivable. That on their arrival he had  
“ sent them magnificent presents: but that they  
“ had judged it more for the honour of the  
“ commonwealth to give an example of the  
“ moderation and disinterestedness which she  
“ makes her glory, and that they had desired  
“ the Prince to dispence with their acceptance  
“ of his presents. That at a solemn feast the  
“ day

“ day before their departure, the King had cau-  
 “ sed crowns of gold to be given to them, all  
 “ which they had placed upon his statues the  
 “ next day. That lastly, the same day they  
 “ set out, the King had given them far more  
 “ magnificent presents than the first, reproach-  
 “ ing them in an obliging manner for not hav-  
 “ ing accepted them. That not to offend a  
 “ Prince of so much goodness by reiterated re-  
 “ fusals, they had accepted them with the most  
 “ profound respect, and that the first thing they  
 “ had done on arriving at Rome, had been to  
 “ deposite them in the public treasury.” They  
 afterwards informed the Senate with what marks  
 of joy and acknowledgment Ptolomy had re-  
 ceived the alliance of the Roman people.

This report gave the Senate exceeding satis-  
 faction. They approved the whole, and thanked  
 the ambassadors especially *for having rendered the  
 manners of the Romans venerable even to foreign  
 nations by their sincere and perfect disinterestedness.*  
 They decreed that the presents they had deposi-  
 ted in the public treachery should be restored to  
 them. The People expressed no less satisfaction  
 and admiration than the Senate had done.

(a) Every thing is perfect in this affair, and  
 one cannot tell which to praise most, the libera-  
 lity of the king, the disinterestedness of the  
 ambassadors, or the equity of the Senate and  
 People. Happy State, happy government,  
 where virtue is so generally in esteem and ho-  
 nour, and where its whole value is known! I  
 do not speak of those shining virtues, which  
 exhibit themselves as sights, which attract all

(a) Ita in iisdem, Ptolomæi liberalitas, legatorum abstinentia, Senatûs ac Populi

Romani æquitas, debitam probabilis facti portionem obtinuit. *Pal. Max. l. 4. c. 3.*

eyes

A. R. 480.  
Ant. C. 272.

eyes upon them, and make a great noise in the world : but, not to depart from my subject, of a virtue, simple, modest, and void of pomp, which does not suffer itself to be dazzled by the glitter of gold and silver, which despises what all the world greedily pursue, and which however all the world admires and applauds.

But the principle on which the conduct of these ambassadors was founded, argues an elevation of sentiments, which ought to form the prevailing character of all persons in high stations. They were persuaded, that a man charged with publick affairs, ought to have no view, but the glory and grateful satisfaction of having faithfully acquitted himself of his duty. *De publico*  
Val. Max. l. 4. c. 3. *scilicet ministerio nihil cuiquam præter laudem bene administrati officii accedere debere judicantes.*

I do not think that I ought to leave my readers in ignorance of the names of these four illustrious Romans : That in my opinion were to deprive them of an honour to which they have the justest right. They were called Q. Fabius Gurges, C. Fabius Pictor, Numer. Fabius Pictor, and Q. Ogulnius. The first, Q. Fabius, who was at the head of the embassy, was chosen Prince of the Senate by the Censors. He had been twice Consul, and had triumphed both times.

*Censorship  
of Curius.*

It was in the year in which we are speaking, that the Cenfor M' Curius caused an aqueduct to be made for bringing the waters of the Anio into the city. He employed the money which arose from the spoils taken by him from the enemy in that work. This Curius was one of the greatest men of the Roman commonwealth, to which, as we have already observed, he did no less honour by his frugality, simplicity, and disinterestedness, that rose so high as a sincere contempt for riches

riches and love of poverty, than by his military virtues, and glorious victories.

A. R. 480.  
Ant. C. 272.

A private person having had the confidence to accuse him of having converted considerable sums out of the spoils taken from the enemy to his own use, he swore that no part of them had entered his house, except a wooden vessel which he made use of in sacrifices, and produced in public. One cannot help being moved with indignation at so extravagant and perverse an attempt. (a) But in a Commonwealth, jealous of its liberty to excess, accusers are suffered without regret, because a person unjustly accused may be acquitted, and a criminal cannot be condemned unless accused. Now it is better, says Cicero, that an innocent person should be exposed to some disagreeable affairs, that cannot hurt him, than to leave the guilty hopes, that their crimes shall pass with impunity, because no body will venture to bring them before the Judges.

Auſt. de  
Vir. illuſt.

All the enemies of the Commonwealth being subjected, the question was in the Senate, to deliberate upon the use it was proper to make of victory. There is reason to judge by the conduct, which the Romans had usually observed in respect to conquered people, that they deprived the Samnites, Lucanians, and all the rest who had born arms against Rome, of part of their territories. History has preserved the particular manner in which the Tarentines were treated. They were ordered to deliver up their arms and their ships; their walls were demo-

*The conquered enemies are deprived of part of their territories.*  
Freinſh.  
xv. 1-17.

(a) Quare facile omnes patimur quam plurimas accusatores; quod innocens, si accusatus sit, absolvi potest; nocens, nisi accusatus fuerit,

condemnari non potest. Utilius est absolvi innocentem, quam nocentem causam non dicere. *Cic. pro Rosc. n. 56.*

lished

A. R. 480.  
Ant. C. 272.

*Severe*

*vengeance  
taken by  
Rome of  
the legion  
that had  
massacred  
the inhabi-  
tants of  
Rhegium.*

lished, and a tribute imposed on them: nothing was granted them but peace and liberty.

When all was tranquil in Italy, the first care of the Romans was to avenge the perfidy of the legion, which having massacred the inhabitants of Rhegium, had kept possession of their city ten years with impunity. As they saw, that the Roman arms prospered every day, they rightly conceived, that they should not long be left in repose, and prepared to make a vigorous defence.

Besides the ferocity which was in a manner become natural to them, they relied much upon the amity of the Mamertines, and the good success of their arms against the Carthaginians and Pyrrhus, whom they had caused to drop the design of attacking their city. They carried the spirit of rebellion to such an excess, that having entered Crotona by the assistance of some traitors, they presumed to put the Roman garrison to the sword, and to demolish the city.

A. R. 481.  
Ant. C. 271.

L. GENUTIUS.

C. QUINTIUS.

L. Genucius, one of the new Consuls, marched against those rebels. Having driven them into their city, he besieged them there in form. They defended themselves with the courage of lions, as they were desperate, and had nothing to expect, but to be punished with death. They even gained some advantages over the Consul, and would have reduced him to the want of provisions, if Hiero had not sent him corn. That prince made a perpetual war with the Mamertines their allies, who had been guilty of the same crime at Messina, as they  
had

had committed at Rhegium. In consequence as much out of inclination, as to make his court to the Romans, he assisted the Consul, as a duty and with pleasure, in so important a conjuncture. The besieged at length reduced to the last extremity, were obliged to surrender at discretion. Only three hundred Roman soldiers fell alive into the Consul's hands. The rest were either dead before, or to avoid the shame of being executed, had fought like madmen till they were killed. Genucius immediately caused the deserters and thieves, who had fled in great numbers to Rhegium as to an asylum, to be put to death. As to the legionary soldiers, he carried them with him to Rome, in order that the Senate might determine of their fate.

A. R. 431.  
Ant. C. 271.

The sentence was severe, and suited the atrocity of their crime. They were first carried to prison, and were all condemned to be whipt with rods, and to lose their heads. M. Fulvius Flaccus, Tribune of the People, opposed the decree of the Senate. However it was put in force, and the criminals were punished. But not to terrify the multitude by putting them all to death at once, fifty a day were carried to execution. The Senate forbade burying them, and ordered that none should go in mourning for them.

Divine Providence, which seldom suffers great criminals to escape its just vengeance, and often inflicts public and distinguished vengeance upon them in this life, to intimidate the bad, had punished Decius Jubellius, the author and ringleader of the black treachery, which had destroyed the inhabitants of Rhegium, some short time after he had perpetrated that horrible crime. Driven out of that city even by those

*Exemplary punishment of Decius Jubellius.*  
Appian  
ap. Vales.  
p. 554.  
Diod. Eclog. 22.

A. R. 481.  
 ANL. C. 271.

who had been his accomplices, he took refuge at Messina, where he did not long enjoy the good reception he met with, at ease. He was afflicted with a very painful disorder of the eyes. There was in that city a famous physician, who had been settled there a great many years. People did not know, or had forgot, that he was a native of Rhegium: for certainly if Jubellius had suspected it in the least, he would not have put himself into his hands. He therefore caused him to be sent for. The physician, transported with so happy an occasion of avenging his country, told him he had a remedy, of which the success was speedy and infallible, but very violent, and required patience. The hope of a cure made Jubellius consent to every thing. The physician accordingly applied his composition to his eyes, in which he had mixed powder of Cantharides, a most extreme corrosive, and recommended to him in a particular manner not to take off that dressing till he returned; after which he immediately retired from Messina. Jubellius soon felt the sharpest and most exquisite pains, as if burning coals had been applied to his eyes, and continued in inexpressible torments. After having long expected the return of his physician, he tore off the fatal dressing, the effect of which had entirely deprived him of sight, and left him in insupportable anguish during the rest of his life.

The city of Rhegium was restored to as many of its ancient inhabitants as could be drawn together, with their laws and liberty. This bloody execution, the report of which spread a great way, very much augmented the idea the people already conceived of the justice of the Romans, and contributed no less to acquire them the love of all the States of Italy, than

than their arms had done to make them feared. A. R. 481.  
Ant. C. 271.

C. GENUCIUS.

A. R. 482.  
Ant. C. 270.

CN. CORNELIUS.

There was this year a war with the Sarsinates, a people of Umbria, who inhabited the Apennines. No circumstance of it is known.

Rome felt a very hard winter this year. There was snow in the Forum during forty days of an extraordinary depth. Aug. de  
iv. Dei,  
iii. 17.

Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.

A. R. 483.  
Ant. C. 269.

C. FABIUS PICTOR.

This year silver money was coined in Rome for the first time, whereas hitherto it had only brass species. This was not because gold and silver money had not been known long before at Rome: but it was foreign, brought from abroad, and generally taken from the enemy, as were the forty talents of silver taken amongst the spoils of Pometia, of which Livy speaks in his first book. But copper money only had been coined at Rome till now. The opulence to which the Commonwealth had attained, occasioned it to think of coining silver. Silver money first  
coined at  
Rome.  
Liv. l. 53.  
c. 53.

P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.

A. R. 484.  
Ant. C. 268.

AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS.

A colony was sent now to Ariminum a city of the Gauls, Senones, in Picenum: and another into Samnium to *Maleventum*, a name of bad augury, which was then changed into that of *Beneventum*. New colonies

The freedom of Rome had been granted the Sabines

A. R. 484.  
 AN. C. 268. Sabines for some years : the right of suffrage was now added to it.

*War with the Picentes happily terminated.* The war with the Picentes, the people of Picenum, after a sufficiently rude battle, and the taking of several of their principal towns, was terminated by the entire subjection of the whole nation. This was a great advantage, and a considerable augmentation of strength to the

Plin. l. 3  
 C. 13. Commonwealth, as, according to Pliny the Naturalist, three hundred and sixty thousand Picentes submitted to the Roman People. To perpetuate the remembrance of so memorable an event the representation of it was stamped upon the silver money coined this year.

A. R. 485.  
 AN. C. 267.

M. ATILIUS REGULUS.

L. JULIUS LIBO.

*Italy universally at peace by the subjection of the Salentines and Umbrians.*

*Brindisi.*

To put an end to the conquest of all Italy, it only remained to subject the Salentines, who possessed the most western part of it upon the sea-coast, not far from Tarentum. The war was carried into their country under pretext, that they had received Pyrrhus into their ports and cities. The commodiousness of the port of Brundisium, which afforded a free access into all the neighbouring countries, was the principal cause of it. They were not subjected till the year following.

A. R. 486.  
 AN. C. 266.

NUMERIUS FABIUS.

D. JUNIUS.

To these Consuls the Umbrians surrendered themselves on one side, and the Salentines on the other, which obtained them the honour of a triumph ; and with these people all Italy was reduced, and universal peace established.

Rome

Rome hitherto had struggled, during almost five hundred years, with the several States that inhabited Italy, and could not yet pass the bounds of, nor extend its conquests beyond it. What appearance was there, that a people kept against their will for so many years within so narrow a compass, should one day, and in a space of time sufficiently short, make themselves masters of almost the whole world? What is Italy, in comparison with that vast extent of provinces and kingdoms, which it was destined to possess in Africa, Asia, and Europe; and of which it was successively to make conquests? This is what it was preparing for, without knowing it, by all the wars which it has hitherto sustained: or to speak more justly, this is what God himself disposed so, as he had prepared Cyrus and Alexander for the great conquests he had allotted them, and which he had caused to be clearly foretold by his prophets, as well as those of the Romans. He had assigned fixed bounds for the duration of the kingdoms of Alexander's successors. Till then the Romans will be able to effect nothing against those kingdoms. But when the term prefixed shall arrive, they will reduce them all, each in its turn, into subjection to Rome. It is happy for us, that this conduct and peculiar attention of God over the kingdoms of the earth, which begin and end only when he pleases, has been revealed to us in the Scriptures.

The Romans, victorious over all the enemies that have exercised them so long within the extent of Italy, become from henceforth either the asylum or terror of the neighbouring cities and states, and employ their arms to support the weak oppressed, and to oppose the violence of oppressors. Noble and worthy use of the power

A. R. 436.  
A. C. 206.

power granted by God to States and Princes, and which would do infinite honour to a powerful and formidable people, if, firmly determined to render themselves the protectors of innocence and justice, which is in some sort to hold the place of God upon earth, they do not give ear to ambitious policy, as the Romans will soon do, and become at length themselves unjust and violent usurpers.

*The Apollonians and the Ægians, ambassadors of Rome.*

The Apollonians were the first who had recourse to the Roman People. Apollonia is a city upon the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, valuable particularly on account of its port, which lies the nearest and most commodiously for landing in Greece from Brundisium. It is situated between Illyrium and Macedonia, against which it was not in a condition to defend its liberty. The Senate received very favourably the ambassadors it sent to Rome to demand the amity and protection of the Commonwealth. But an unlucky and unforeseen accident might have given the neighbouring States impressions very prejudicial to the reputation of Rome. Some young Senators in a dispute were so hot as to strike the ambassadors. The Senate perfectly comprehended of what consequence, and how necessary it was, to punish such a violence. They remembered what the suffering with impunity a violation of the laws of nations in respect to the Gauls had cost the Commonwealth. They therefore delivered up all the culpable to the ambassadors, without regard to their birth, rank, or even dignity, for one of them was Ædile. They were carried to Apollonia: but the inhabitants, solely attentive to the favour they had lately received for the Roman People, sent them back, after having treated them with the highest respect and politeness.

Q. FA-

Q. FABIVS GVRGES III.

A. R. 487.  
Ant. C. 265.

L. MAMILIVS VITVLVS.

Another people nearer Rome than the Apollonians, and groaning under an equally cruel and infamous oppression, implored the assistance of the Romans that year. These were the Volstinians, a people of Hetruria, who by a very odd kind of conduct, and probably forced to it by the bad state of their affairs, had some years before, not only granted liberty to, and armed their slaves, but had even admitted them into the Senate. These strange Senators soon made themselves masters of the rest, and even of the State, and exercised incredible violences and cruelties both against the men and the women.

The Volstinians, not being able to bear so barbarous and shameful a slavery, sent some persons secretly to Rome, who desired the Senate to give them audience in some private house, in order to keep the subject of their journey a secret. The relation of their sufferings moved the Senators with compassion, and they promised them a speedy and powerful aid. Unfortunately a friend of the master of the house where the assembly was held, who was sick in a neighbouring chamber, over-heard all that had been resolved, and gave advice of it immediately to the Volstinians. As soon as the deputies returned thither, both them and several of the principal persons were murdered. This was a new reason for hastening the aid. The Consul Q. Fabius arrived there with his army. The rebels were so bold as to march out against him: They were repulsed with great loss into the city, where the Consul besieged them in form. They defended themselves there with vigour, and made

A. R. 487.  
 Ant. C. 265.

made several brisk sallies, in one of which Fabius received a wound of which he died. But the courage of the Romans did not die with him, and only became the more furious from his death. They continued the siege, cut off provisions so effectually, and pressed the enemy so close, that the next year, when the Senate sent M. Fulvius, one of the Consuls, to terminate this enterprize, reduced to the want of all things, and not able to support the famine any longer, they surrendered at discretion. They were made to suffer the most cruel punishments. The city was destroyed, and other places assigned the remainder of the Volsinians, and the slaves who had been faithful to their masters. This expedition acquired the Consul a triumph.

*Regulation  
 concerning  
 the Cen-  
 sors.*

Cn. Cornelius Blasio, and C. Marcius Rutilus, the latter for the second time were elected Censors in the year 487. Marcius assembled the People immediately, and reproached them sharply for having chosen him Cenfor a second time, after their ancestors had abridged that office of two thirds of its duration, on account of its too great authority. The moderation which he shewed on this occasion, acquired him the surname of Cenforinus; and a decree was passed, whereby it was prohibited to confer the office of Cenfor twice upon the same person.

*Number of  
 the Quæstors doubled and  
 augmented  
 to eight.*

The number of Quæstors, or Treasurers, were doubled the same year. Hitherto there had been only four, two for the city, and as many for the army. But as the public revenues were very much increased in effect of the new augmentations of the dominions of the State, there was a necessity for nominating eight.

*End of the Third Volume.*

